

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Donatists.

By THOMAS LONG, B. D. and
Prebendary of St. Peter's EXON.

— *Mutato Nomine de te,
Anglia, narratur.*

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DORMERS.

By Thomas Jones, Esq. and
Proprietors of the Dormers.

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To the Reverend
GEORGE CARY, D.D.
AND
DEAN of EXETER.

Reverend Sir,

Although I am no Conjurer, yet I suspect I have done enough to raise the spirits of the *Donatists*, which are wont to be very troublesome, and that it may exceed my skill to allay them: And therefore I have thus seasonably (I hope) taken Sanctuary under Your Name; for I have observed that some consecrated Persons, as well as Places, are not haunted with such Spectres. And though such Apparitions have been very affrighting & vexatious to Men of weak judgments & wavering minds, yet some Persons who have arm'd themselves with constant integrity to God, and resolute Loyalty to the King, have been least obnoxious to their power and malice; as good

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Souldiers that keep their ranks are not so much exposed to the hazards of War, as they whose fears make them sneak from Place to Place. And this, through God's good providence, was Your security in the late Times of Confusion, wherein notwithstanding the busie Emissaries of the Prince of Darkness, you did not only shine as a bright Example of Christian resolution, sound Doctrine, and a holy Life, but did really influence a great part of your neighbouring Clergy, the sense whereof hath obliged me to this publick acknowledgment; by which I cannot hope to add to your reputation, but to provide for my own quiet, against such unjust and unsavory reflections, as guilty persons are prone to make, from whom I appeal to your more righteous judgment, whether I have done them wrong, or no. Sure I am I intended them none, for I only present them with a Glass, wherein if they see their own defects, they have no reason to be displeased with the Glass, but with those Vices which cause the reflexion. *Socrates, l. 2. c. 15.* of the Tripartite History, tells us, that *Constantine* to shame the *Arians*, provided by an Edict, that they should be called *Porphyrrians*, *Ut quorum mores imitati sunt, eorum nomine perfruantur*, that they might be known by his Name, whose manners they did imitate: And a greater than *Constantine* did the like

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like by the Jews, *John 8. 44. Ye are of your father the Devil, and his lusts ye will do.* Every Man's publick profession and practices are the plainest characters to teach us what party he is of. They who through pride and discontent raise and propagate new Opinions, that they may head a Faction, and take pet at the preferment of better Men, vexing their Governors, despising their Authority, persecuting their innocent Brethren, and fomenting Divisions in a well established Church, are as manifestly acted and animated by the spirit of *Donatus*, as if there were a transmigration of Souls —

Sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora gerebat.

As old *Donatus* did, so do his Race, (Face. Cast up their Eyes and Hands with down-cast

In vain therefore do such pretend, (as with great confidence they do) that they are the offspring of those Primitive Christians, who suffered under the Heathen Emperors, for they in the worst times obeyed their lawful Governors in all things wherein they might not disobey God, and constantly adhered to their Bibles, their Bishops, and their Brethren, accounting all such *Traditores*, (*i.e.*) Traytors, as forsook either. Such pretences therefore do make odious representations of the Primitive Christians, as if they were in their Generation as factious and seditious,

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ous, as the late *Donatists* in ours ; And as ill reflexions do they cast on their Christian Governors, as if they were very Persecutors. But, by their fruits ye shall know them: for, if it be considered how exactly every Scene of that horrid Tragedy, which was first acted in the Churches of *Africa*, hath been acted over, and (if I may so speak) over-acted in the Church of *England*, it cannot be denied, that they who destroyed the Church of *England*, and its Defender, were the most natural off-spring of those *Donatists*, who so perpetually vexed the good *Constantine*, and made Havock of the Churches of *Africa*; or that the present Sectaries, who so tenaciously adhere to the principles, and follow the practices of them that brought such confusion on the Land in the former Age, are their proper Successors.

However, it is advisedly done by their Apologists, to make their Pamphlets swell with the frequent mention of the Indulgence of some of the Emperors to peaceable Christians, but pass by the many strict Edicts of the most Christian and pious Emperors, against such as withdrew from the Communion of the Catholick Church, some of which I have transcribed for their better information at the end of this History, and shall only acquaint them here with that success which *Sozomen*, l. 3. c. 11. of the Tripartite History, observed to follow on the due executi-

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on of them. Who speaking of the Laws of *Constantine*, against such as denied communion with the Church in his days, The Emperor (saith my Author) strictly commanded that their Meeting-places should be taken from them, and they not permitted to assemble in private Houses, or Churehes; by reason of which Law (I suppose, saith *Sozomen*) the Memorial of Heresie was utterly destroy'd, for after this Law, they could meet neither publickly in the Churches, nor secretly, being observed, and forbidden by the Bishops and Clergy. Doubtless those Bishops and Clergymen were no Persecutors, they did what was their duty, and by a seasonable restraint of Men of corrupt principles, preserved the true Christians in peace. And certainly the present Bishops would be defective in a special duty of their Function, which is, to preserve the Flock of Christ in Peace and Unity, if they should tolerate such, as seek to scatter and make a Prey of them. *St. Hierome*, who is thought by some to have been no Friend to that Office, doth yet affirm, that it was ever since the Apostles days the best Remedy against Schisme. I shall entreat your patience, while I mention a passage or two of that Father, which have been tortured to speak against *Episcopacy*, but do so far commend its usefulness, and assert its antiquity, and authority, as may suffice to silence all

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its adversaries. In his Comment on 1 *Timus* he saith, *Antequam Diaboli instinctu, &c.* Before such time, as by the instigation of the Devil, Factions were made in Religion, and the People began to say, I am of *Paul*, and I of *Apollo*, and I of *Cephas*, the Churches were governed by the common Council of *Presbyters*: but afterward, when every one accounted those, whom he had baptized, to be his own, and not Christs; it was decreed in the whole (Christian) World, that one, chosen out of the *Presbyters*, should be set over the rest, unto whom the care of the Church should belong, that the seeds of schisme might be taken away. Would you know when this was done, and by whom, *Panormitan* will tell you, *Li. Decret. de consuetud. c. 4.* Immediately after Christ's death, all the *Presbyters* ruled in common----but after a while the *Apostles* caused, that *Bishops* should be created for the appeasing of *Schismes*. If any shall not agree that this is St. *Hierome's* sense, let him compare that passage in his Epistle to *Euvagrius*, (85) *Quod autem postea*, That after this, (i.) in the Apostles age, (as appears both by what goes before, and by what follows concerning St. *Mark*) one was chosen and set over the rest, was done for a Remedy against Schisme, lest every one drawing a part of the Church to himself, should destroy the whole: for in the Church of *Alexandria*,
from

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from the days of St. *Mark* the Evangelist, unto *Heracles*, and *Dionysius*, Bishops there, the Presbyters choosing one of their number, and setting him in a Higher degree, called him Bishop: and in his Dialogue, *ad Luciferianos*, *Ecclesie salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet; cui si non exors, & ab omnibus eminens, detur potestas, tot in Ecclesiis efficientur schismata, quot sacerdotes.* So then St. *Hierome's* testimony is express for the Antiquity of Bishops, (for as to the original institution, I shall not now discourse) that they were in the Apostles days, particularly in the Church of *Alexandria*, in St. *Mark's* days, and in the Church of *Corinth*, ever since the People began to say, I am of *Paul*, and I of *Apollo*, for the ending of which controversie, one was preferred above the rest; and the Scholiast tells us, on *Titus* 1. that *Apollo* was the Man, *ὑπάρχων Ἐπίσκοπος Κορινθίων*, the first Bishop of *Corinth*; and the same was decreed in all the Christian World; That the care of the Church was committed to them, and the welfare of the Church depended on their dignity, to whom if there were not an eminent and peerless power given by all, there would be as many schismes in the Church, as there were Priests; and lastly, that it was a principal duty of theirs, (though it be now accounted their crime) to prevent the growth of schisms in their several Churches.

And

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And this is that which I have (according to my mean capacity) endeavour'd in these Papers, wherein I have only applyed that gentle Remedy, which hath been approved by Ancient and Modern Divines, who agree, that, The means to confute schisme, is to reduce it to its first Original: for howsoever it comes to pass, that factious persons are inlove with their own, they cannot but abhor the actions of their Progenitors.

And now, *Reverend Sir*, If I have said any thing unworthy of your Name, I know, that as your judgment will discern it, so your candor will pardon it, since nothing hath moved me to this attempt, but my duty to the Church, and my particular esteem of your great Merits, who are a chief Ornament of the same; for though you have been placed in an eminent station, yet that you have rather honour'd that dignity, than been dignified by it, is the judgment of all that know you, and not only the private opinion of

Exon, Febr. 1.

Your Humble Servant,

167⁶₇.

THO. LONG.



THE P R E F A C E.

IT hath been sometime known, that when divers learned Physicians, after all their regular methods of Physick, have given over their Patients as desperate, a mean Empirick, by an easie and gentle application, hath effected the Cure. And (having often considered with my self, how fruitless and ineffectual the many excellent Discourses, and unanswerable Arguments of such as have opposed the Separation from our Church, have been; and that the contumacious humor still spreads it self, to the infection and ruine of many precious Souls) I thought it might be expedient to apply another remedy, (viz.) A true representation of the Opinions and practices of such Schismaticks, as have been condemned in the Primitive times of the Church: whereby, as in a Glass, such as are guilty of the present Separation, may reflect on their own deformities, and the evil consequence of their dividing practices. Some Women, who have been too well conceited of their beauty, when they have unawares beheld in a clear Glass, the deforming and destructive effects of a loathsome Disease, have been so surpris'd with the change, that is visibly made on their Faces, that they have immediately fallen sick and dyed. And who knows, but when those fanciful persons, who are so highly conceited of their purity, and tenderness of their Consciences, shall be convinced, (as by a seri-

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ous reflection on this History of the Donatists they may be) what unclean Spots, and visible defects the Souls and Consciences of such as live in Separation from a well established Church, have contracted, they may immediately grow sick of their Sins, and apply themselves to the mortification of them, that their Souls may be saved? It is the Opinion of some learned Men, that the Cardinal Baronius hath raised more Prejudices against the Reformed Churches, by his Annals, than Cardinal Bellarmine by all his Arguments: And indeed, upon supposition, that the Relation which he gives of the Primitive Doctrine and Discipline is true, (the contrary whereof hath been sufficiently evinced by Bishop Jewel, and many others) he hath done more to prove our Churches guilty, both of Heresie and Schism, than all the Polemical Divines of the Church of Rome. Accordingly, when it shall appear by the Authentique Records of the Church of God, that those Persons, who held the same Opinions, and followed the same practices, as some in this present Age do, were frequently condemned by the best Christian Emperors, and Catholick Councils, as schismatical and dangerous, and upon what small and inconsiderable grounds they have run themselves into such great confusions, as have overturned all things Sacred, and well settled in Church and State; it may be rationally hoped, that, though the most cogent arguments have not perswaded them, yet such horrible Spectres may affright them from their sullen and unchristian apartment, and make them choose to live rather with peaceable and humble Christians, in a conformity to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Primitive and present Church, than among such turbulent Spirits, as revive the Opinions and practices of the most dangerous and condemned Schismaticks. And it is both a more civil, and facile way of insinuating instructions and reproofs to the minds

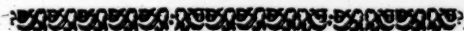
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minds and consciences of such, as are averse from plain dealing, to teach them by pertinent instances and examples, by Historical allusions, and wise Apologues; such as the Parable of Trees used by Jotham, and of the Ewe-Lamb, by the Prophet Nathan: and this method was familiarly used by our Saviour, especially when he would convince the Pharisees; as he doth in the Parable of the unthankful Husband-men, Luke 21. 33. and divers others, wherein he proves them to be worse than those, who persecuted the Prophets, by their malice against the Son of God, and v. 45. it is said, They perceived that he spake of them. In the days of the late Usurpation, The History of Andronicus, the unfortunate Politician, of Massonello, and the Munster Anabaptists, had their good effect. Most Men are severe censurers of the same sins in others, which they do indulge and allow in themselves. There is scarce a Separatist among us, who, when he shall impartially consider the grievous and continued troubles of the African Churches, occasioned by the Schisme of the Donatists, who upon false or frivolous pretences, first forsook the Communion of the Catholick Church, and then raised Parties to oppose it, falsely accusing, condemning, persecuting and murdering their Fathers and Brethren, affronting the Magistrates, despising their Laws, raising Tumults and Armies, and pronouncing them Martyrs that dyed in Rebellion; I say, there is not any, but will readily condemn these, though he have been seduced to joyn with such, as have practised the same, or worse things. The Ancients resembled a wise Man to the Image of Janus, which looked both forward and backward; and it would certainly be a point of Prudence in us, to look back upon the transactions and counsels of former Ages, and to observe what Opinions and practices have been condemned by wise and good Men, and carefully

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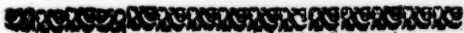
fully avoid such. As also to look forward, and to consider, to what dangers and precipices our present Opinions may betray us, what out-rages and cruelties our ambition may lead us to, though for the present we think it impossible, that ever our lusts, or any temptations, or advantages, should be able to transform us into such ravenous beasts, as afterward we may appear to be. Had Cromwel been foretold, as Hazael was, what horrid Massacres and Regicide he should commit, he would have thought it a slander, though from the mouth of a Prophet, 2 Kings 8. 12. And if such as have given themselves up to dividing principles, did but consider, how easily they may be taught to act over the same Tragical Scenes of Sacrilege, Rapine and Blood, when their Masters shall get power, and opportunities agreeable to their malice, which both ancient and modern Sectaries have done before them; they may find just cause to grow jealous of themselves, though they have yet the sheeps clothing on them, and to suspect their Teachers, though transformed into Angels of light, for the Ministers of Satan, whose design it is to attempt the ruine of the Church, by the abused zeal of her seduced Children, which he could not effect by the cruelty of her professed Enemies. To undeceive such Persons, and render Schisme and Faction, as odious and pernicious, as the Scripture doth describe them, and both the History of former Ages, and the sad experience of our own, do demonstrate them to have been, and that all who profess the Name of Christ may agree in the truth of his Holy Word, and live in Unity with their Brethren, and in due Obedience to their lawful Governors, both in Church and State, is the only Design, and hearty Prayer of

*Si sapitis, benè, & recte; si non sapitis, vestri
curam gessisse non pœnitebit, quia, etsi cor ve-
strum ad pacem non convertitur, pax nostra ad
cor nostrum convertetur, August. ad Petil. l. 3.*



IMPRIMATUR,

*G. J. ane R. P. D. Hen. Episc.
Lond. à Sacris Dom.*



21. April 1712. Von der
Königl. Acad. der Wissensch.
in Berlin. An den
Herrn Prof. Dr. J. A. S.

AN DER KÖNIGLICHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
IN BERLIN

IMPRIMATUR.

Dr. J. A. S.
Prof. Dr. J. A. S.

AN DER KÖNIGLICHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
IN BERLIN



THE HISTORY OF THE DONATISTS.



When *Dioclesian*, as a *Romish* Wolf, had worried and scattered the Flock of *Christ*, and exhausted Rivers of that precious Blood, he perceived that he could neither diminish

their Numbers, nor abate any thing of that primitive Spirit, which, like a Rock, did not only stand firm, but broke in pieces the (*Fluctus Decumanos*) most impetuous Waves of the greatest Persecution. The Tyrant thought therefore of a more probable way to extinguish that Spirit, which was, to withdraw the word of life; and accordingly, in the Nineteenth Year of his Empire, like another *An-*

Ann. 306

B

riochus

tiachus Epiphanes, who did *Mosaicis libris bel- lum iudicere*, he publisheth his Edict. That the Christian Churches should be levelled with the ground, the Ornaments seized to his use, the Holy Scriptures consumed in the Fire, and all that professed Christianity, be deprived of all Liberties, Offices, and Dignities, unless they would offer Sacrifice to the Heathen Gods. Immediately upon publishing this Edict, his Officers do generally become Inquisitors, and strictly require all the Christians to deliver up the Utensils of their Churches, and the Testament of their Lord, to be consumed in the Fire, which, if any refused, they themselves were condemned to the Flames.

Optatus
P. 40.

Among other Confessors, *Felix* Deacon of *Antamitum*, was summoned by the Inquisitors, to deliver up the Ornaments of his Church, and the Evangelical Books, which were in his custody: whereupon he hid himself with *Mensurinus*, Bishop of *Carthage*: whereof the Officers being informed, they require *Mensurinus* to deliver him up, or to appear on a set Day at the Emperors Court, to answer the contempt. Where it is observable, that (*Episcoporum domus ne in persecutionibus fac erat violare*) the Bishops Houses, even in times of Persecution, were accounted as a Sanctuary by the very Heathen. *Mensurinus* was too much a Christian to betray his Brother, and therefore he chose rather to submit himself to the Emperors sentence, and to appear at the appointed time: but in the interim, he

is careful to secure the Goods belonging to his Church. And in those Days, as the Christians had Churches called *Basilicas*, so those Churches had their Ornaments. St. *August. contr. Cresconium*, says that the Church of *Cirta*, in the time of *Dioclesian* had two Chalicees of Gold, six Cups of Silver and a Silver Candlestick. Yet the Treasuries of those Churches were much exhausted in those days, it being the frequent practice of those primitive Christians, to sell their Plate and Ornaments, to redeem the lives, or to relieve the necessities of their persecuted Brethren. *Mensurinus* therefore causeth an Inventory of the Treasury of the Church of *Carthage* to be made, and committing the Treasury it self to the custody of the Elders, (as *Optatus* saith) he leaves the Inventory with an ancient Woman, whom he had always found faithful, charging her to preserve it, for his Successors, if it should please God to account him worthy of Martyrdom.

* St. *Augustine* saith, there were in that Church very many Ornaments of Gold and Silver. Concerning the Death of *Mensurinus*, we have no certain account in Ecclesiastical History, only we find the Bishoprick of *Carthage* to be void shortly after, and *Dioclesian* languishing under a surfeit of Christian blood, resigned his Empire to *Maxentius*, who was overthrown sometime after by *Constantine*, as also *Maximinus* another Tyrant by *Licinius*, and thereupon *Constantine* the Father of *Constantine*, though he were then in *England*, was pro-

p. 41.

* Erant in illâ Ecclesiâ quam plurima Ornamenta Auri & Argenti.

Baronius
ad Ann. 315

claimed Emperor, but he dyed in York, and so the whole Empire was devolved on *Constantine*, who by his Mother *Helen* had been from his Childhood instructed in the Principles of the Christian Religion. Which *Baronius* observes to be true, notwithstanding the opinion of some ancient Writers to the contrary; for this is related by *Paulinus*, a Man of great Learning and holiness, as well as of a noble Family, and therefore to be believed above *Eusebius*, [saith the Cardinal] And yet as we shall observe hereafter, when *Constantine* accepted of an Appeal from the *Donatists* to the derogation of the power of the Pope, then they plead that he was a Novice, & *rudis fide*, lately instructed in the Christian Faith; and unacquainted with the Customs of the Church. The flames that were kindled by Heathen Persecutors, were scarcely extinguished, when the new lights and heats raised by contentious and ambitious Persons, began another conflagration; for the Bishoprick of *Carthage* being void, *Botrus* and *Celestin* two Presbyters become Competitors for it, against *Cecilian*, who being a Person of known integrity, was by the general suffrage of that whole Church chosen Bishop, and was ordained by *Felix* Bishop of *Aptung*. And now, the good Woman, according to the trust reposed in her, brings the Inventory of the Church-Treasury to *Cecilian*, whereupon he summoneth thole Elders, to whom the Treasury was committed, to make restitution, but whether

whether they had sold, or shared it among themselves, they refused to deliver it: and *Cecilian*, as his duty was, proceeds against them to obtain satisfaction. On this occasion, those sacrilegious Elders deny to hold farther communion with *Cecilian* their Bishop, and joyn themselves to *Betrus* and *Celestinus*, those *Optat. p. 41* two Presbyters that were discontented at the preferment of *Cecilian*. To these *Lucilla*, a Woman descended from a Noble Family of Spain, whom St. *Augustine* calls, *Factiosissimam & pecuniosissimam feminam quam pro cor- S. August. cont. Parm. l. 1.* rumpiendo Ecclesie Disciplinam *Cecilianus* deser- *p. 40.* rat. A rich and factious Woman, who conceiving that *Cecilian* being Arch-Deacon had injured her, by a too sharp reproof for some superstitious practice, contrary to the Discipline of the Church (which was to kiss the Reliques of some supposed Martyrs, before her communicating at the Lord's Supper) joyns her self, to strengthen the Faction; and by her Money, encourageth *Secundus* Pri-
mate of *Numidia*, and *Donatus* of *Casa nigra*, with some others, to oppose *Cecilian*. *Secundus* and the rest of his Party, being partly ter-
 rified by their own guilt (many of them ha-
 ving in the time of Persecution, betrayed their Brethren, or their Bibles to the flames, for which they were called Traditors, and by the Discipline of the Catholick Church, were to be deprived of Communion, until they had satisfied the Church by Penance and Reforma-
 tion) and partly, hired by the gifts and pro-
 mises

mises of *Lucilla*, first meet together at *Cirta*, a City which was afterward new built by *Constantine*, and called after his Name *Constantina*. And that they might carry on their design against *Cecilian* with the less suspicion, like self-denying Persons, they begin first to purge and absolve themselves of that guilt, which by their fear and cowardize they had contracted in the times of Persecution. The number of the Bishops met at this time (they say) was above Seventy. The Names of the Chief St. *Augustine* acquaints us with, (*viz.*) *Secundus* the Primate, *Donatus Masculitanus*, *Victor*, *Marinus*, *Purpurius*, and *Donatus à Casa Nigra*, the Head of the Faction, *Secundus* acquaints his Brethren that they were met to ordain a Bishop in the place of *Cecilian*, who was thought unfit for the Chair of *Carthage*, as being a Traditor; but it behoves us first to clear our selves from that crime, before we condemn another.

Op. p. 39.

First therefore, he questioneth *Donatus Masculitanus* what he could say, to free himself from the accusation of being a Traditor, which lay against him? *Donatus* answered, that it was well known, how violently *Florus* did prosecute him, to make him offer sacrifice, but God delivered me out of his hands, and God having preserved me, my hope is, that you will continue me in the service of God. *Secundus* replied, what shall we say then of the Martyrs, that chose to indure the flames themselves, rather than to offer a grain of Incense

cense to the Heathen Gods? *Donatus* answer-
 ed, I pray you to leave me to God, to whom
 I shall give an account. *Secundus* bids him to
 go on the other side: Then he declares, that
Victor was accused to have delivered the Four
 Evangelists to be consumed in the Fire. *Victor*
 answered, that *Valentiannus* being *Curator*
 compelled him to cast them into the Fire,
 and that the Books were so blotted and defa-
 ced, that they were almost useless, and if you
 pardon me for this, I hope God will do the
 like. *Secundus* bids him go on the other side.
 Then was *Marinus* accused for delivering up
 his Books, he answered, I gave some Books
 to *Polus*, but the chiefest of them are safe.
Secundus bids him go on the other side. The
 next that was questioned was *Purpurius*, for
 destroying his Sisters two Sons, with whom
Secundus dealing more severely than with the
 rest, Do you think, saith *Purpurius*, to affright
 me, as you have done others? Consider what
 you your self did, when you were urged by
 the *Curator* to deliver up your Books, how
 got you your liberty, but by delivering all
 that was in your power & I confess, I did slay
 them, and I will slay all such as seek my de-
 struction, therefore approve me, not lest I
 discover more. Upon this discourse *Secundus*
 the younger spake thus to his Uncle, Now you
 hear what a charge is brought in against your
 self, and these whom you have accused, are all
 resolved to leave your Communion, and join
 in a Faction against you, do not inquire too

S. Aug.
Ep. 162.

strictly, what others have done, leave them to give an account to God. Hereupon *Secundus* consulting with his Brethren, what was fit to be done in this case, they all advised, to leave the Judgment to God's Tribunal; and accordingly, *Secundus* said, You all know, and God knows what each of you have done, and he will judge you: and so he grants them *honoram confessus*, bidding them sit down in their places, and they all sate down and said, Thanks be to God. (This was the Form of Absolution.) After this they proceed to choose *Sylvanus*, who also was a Traditor, to be Bishop of *Cirta*, whose Election *Cecilian* opposing, drew the whole Faction against himself. And during the Session of this Assembly, they held many private Consultations against *Cecilian*, and sent threatening Messages to him, so that his Friends advised him of the great danger that he was in, his Enemies having strengthened their Party by great Numbers, and taken to themselves the Authority of a Council. They resolve therefore to adjourn their Session to *Carthage*, and Summon *Cecilian* to appear before them, *Bonatus* and *Celestin* intending to accuse him there for a Traditor. *Cecilian* not owning their Authority, refuseth to appear, and thereupon they proceed to condemn him as guilty, with as much facility as they had absolved one another; and pronouncing him *Secundus* void, they proceed to prefer *Majorianus*, who was Domesticke Chaplain to *Lucillus*, and had been Deacon to *Cecilian*, to be

be Bishop of *Carthage*. By this you may perceive, how many sins, and lusts, were in conjunction, when this Monster of Schisme was first produced; The defeated Ambition of some, the sacrilegious covetousness of others, the restless guilt and feminine malice of others, and therefore it is rightly numbred among the works of the flesh, and the Authors condemned for sensual persons. It is generally true of all Schisme, what is particularly observed of this, *Iracondia peperit, Ambitio nutrit, Avaritia roboravit*: Discontent is the Mother, Ambition the Nurse, and Covetousness a Champion to defend it. To which agrees another ancient Observation. *Quicumq; pa-*

Gal. 5. 20.

Jude 19.

Opt. p. 41.

cem Ecclesia perturbant, aut Superbia tumore furiosi, aut invidentia Livore vesani, aut Seculari commoditate corrupti, aut carnali concupiscentia perversi. Aug. contr. Parm. l. 3.

The Faction being by these Arts propagated, and become numerous, begins to remonstrate against *Cecilian*, not sparing *Mensurius* his Predecessor, nor *Felix* who ordained him, but charged them all to have been Traditors, and particularly, that *Cecilian*, while he was a Deacon under *Mensurius*, did forbid and hinder all relief from those that were imprisoned, and ready to suffer Martyrdom in the days of *Dioclesian*: And (which is usual with such Persons) by how much the more guilty of such practices they themselves were, so much the more vehemently do they accuse others, that their pretended zeal against those sins, falsly

falsly imputed to others, may serve as a cloak to cover the real guilt which defiled themselves, *Ut crimina in silentium mitterent sua, vitam infamant alienam.* And now they begin to perswade the People, that *Cecilian* is no Minister of Christ, nor the People that adhered to him Members of the true Church; that they had no true Sacraments, nor saving Ordinances, but all were corrupted by Idolatry, and Superstition. And thus they generally called the Catholicks, Pagans and Idolaters, *Adhuc Pagani es.* They would tell those whom they intended to seduce, that they were very Pagans.

L. I. *Donatus de Casa vigrâ*, is the first that sets up Private Meetings, as *Optatus* observes: *Nolebat cum aliis sacrificare sed in domibus secretis*: He withdraws from the Communion of *Cecilian*, and the Bishops that adhered to him, (though they had Communicatory Letters from the chiefest Churches of the World) and gathering the People into Conventicles, (for so both *Optatus* and St. *Augustine* call those Meetings) they Preach against the Corruption of *Cecilian*, and other Catholick Bishops, and the Idolatrous and Superstitious practices that had defiled the whole Church of *Carthage*, into whose Communion (they say) lapsed Persons, and profane Traditors were promiscuously admitted, to the defiling of all that joyned with them; seeing the Church of Christ is to consist only of such as were holy, and without spot and wrinkle; and

and such (said *Donatus*) were to be found only in his separated Congregations, where were better Ministers, and purer Ordinances. Having laid this Foundation, no Pharisees were ever so industrious, in gaining Profelytes, as *Donatus* and his Party, to seduce the People of *Carthage*, from the Church under *Cecilian*, to their own Conventicles: for they run from House to House, and from Village to Village, and pick up one of a Family, and two, or three of a Village, by foul and false accusations of others, and fair pretences in behalf of themselves, pitying the People, and perswading them, that they lived among Idolaters, and were defiled by their communion with them. Their manner of seducing the People, is recorded both by *Optatus* and St. *Augustine*.

*Caius Seius, or Caia Seia, adhuc Paganus es, p. 75.
consule anima tua, esto Christianus. Bonus
Homo, si non esses Traditor. (i. e.)*

Good Man, or good Woman, you are yet a rank Idolater, be advised by me for the Salvation of thy Soul, come out of that *Babylon*, and be made a Christian, thou hast good affections, if they were sanctified, and placed aright, thou may'st become an eminent Saint.

Against this Un-christian practice, St. *Augustine* most passionately declaims. *O improbam rabiem cum Christiano dicitar esto Christianus, hoc est dicere nega Christum.* 'O accursed madness to perswade them that were true Christians already, to renounce their Christianity, under a pretence, that they should

'Should be admitted to a higher form! What is
 ' this (saith he) but to deny Christ? which to
 ' prevent, the Servants of Christ have been al-
 Opt. p. 75. ' way ready to lay down their Lives, and resist
 ' even to Blood. *Unus consensus & manus*
in eum porrectio & paucæ verba, Christianum faci-
unt de Christiano: As if the being admitted
 into their Congregations did contribute more
 to their Christianity than their Baptism. By
 these insinuations, they skrued themselves into
 the affections of the younger and weaker sort,
 Opt. l. 3. p. 73. *Aut exivit Uxor, & resedit Maritus, &c.*
 Either the Wife separated, and the Husband
 remained in the Catholick Communion, or the
 Children and Servants were seduced from their
 obedience to their earthly, as well as heavenly
 Parents and Masters, until they had rent the
 Church of God into pieces, and of one Church
 made many Synagogues of Satan. *Persuasio-*
nibus vestris divisa sunt corpora & nomina pie-
tatis. The Church and the City, the Townes
 and Families, Husbands and Wives, Parents
 and Children were divided, and were no lon-
 ger known by the Name of Christians, but
 one was a *Majorite*, another a *Donatist*, a third
 a *Maximianist*, and all of them professed E-
 nemies to the Communion of the Catholick
 Church: And whereas they pretended to
 greater purity than other Congregations, yet
 such as joyned with them, were Persons of
 least honesty and charity; *Ille vobis Christia-*
nus erit quod vultis fecerit, non quem fides
adduxerit: He shall be a choice Christian a-
 mong

mong you (saith *Optatus*) whom a blind obedience to you, and not faith in Christ, hath brought over. *Tertullian* commended the Christian Religion in his days, because it did so alter the dispositions of Men, as to make those who were fierce and cruel, as Bears, or Tygers, to be meek, and innocent as Lambs, or Doves; but the spirit of Donatisme, did *Hominem de homine tollere*, rob Men of their Humanity, and made them that were formerly harmless and peaceable, to be unnatural, and implacable; and yet as bad as they were, they promised forgiveness of sins, and a Crown of Martyrdome too, to such, as not only shed the blood of their Brethren, but desperately cast away their own Lives: Of which I shall give too many instances in the ensuing History.

The Faction being increased by such arts, they begin to leave their private Houses, and build *Basilicas non necessarias*, unnecessary Churches, when those of the Orthodox were sufficient; and having first departed from *Cecilian*, they departed also from the Catholick Church, affirming, that they only, and the Congregations that joyned with them, were the true Churches of Christ, and all the rest were Apostates. *Gaudentius* one of their Faction, undertook to maintain, That the Article of the Catholick Church, was *Figmentum humanum*, an Invention, of Man, and not agreeable to the Ordinance of Christ. And *Donatus*, who gave the Name to the Faction, used all

all diligence to gain the face and reputation of a Church, to the separated Brethren: to which end, he teacheth it to be necessary, that they who were admitted to their Communion, should make a Publick confession of their Errors, and submitting themselves to the Discipline of their new pastors, should be rebaptized; for by these means, he knew, he should secure as many as came to his communion, without any fear of their return to the Catholick Church. And to the Sacrament of Baptism they added Exorcisme (which is still retained in the Church of Rome, in this form of words, *Maledisse exi foras*, Come forth thou wicked Spirit, whereby (as *Optatus* observes) they did blaspheme the blessed Trinity, in whose Name they had been formerly baptized. The Catholick Bishops are not remiss in the Vindication of *Cecilian*, but prevailed with *Zenophilus*, a Man of Consular dignity, to take cognizance of the difference between *Cecilian*, and *Majorinus*, and in the inquiry to the merits of the cause, it was affirmed by one *Nundinarinus*, a Deacon, who was sometime privy to the transactions of that Party, that most of those who opposed *Cecilian*, were Traitors, and particularly, that *Sylvanus*, whom they made Bishop of *Cirta*, had betrayed the Holy Scriptures, and some Ornaments of his Church, and sacrilegiously withheld what was devoted to the use of the Poor. For the truth whereof, he appealed to the Bishops and Presbyters of his own Party, who knew

knew the certainty of the particulars, and of a great Summe of Mony [*Quadringenta folles*, *Baronius* each *Follis* weighing three Pound and half of Vol. 3. Silver] sent by *Lucilla*, and divided among P. 352. the chief of that Party, to condemn *Cecilian*, and to advance *Majorinus* into his Chair: And that *Vistron*, who had been by Occupation a Fuller, gave Twenty *Folles* to be ordained a Priest; and all this *Nundinarius* affirmed to be true, as in the presence of Christ and his holy Angels. And thus the Schisme is begun, by erecting, *Altare contra Altare*, a Presbyter or Mock-bishop, against *Cecilian*, the lawful Bishop of *Carthage*. But the first Invader of this Holy Office was short-lived, for about the Year 306. *Majorinus* the Mock-bishop dyed, and none is thought so fit to succeed him, as *Donatus*, who hence-forth gives the Denomination to the Schisme, which was no longer, *Pars Majorini*, but *Pars Donati*: for, as much as in him lay, he did not only re-baptize particular Persons, but the whole Church, which was no longer known by the appellation of *Christian*, or *Catholick*, but *Donatist*, and now he takes on him a power to silence and depose the *Catholick* Bishops and Presbyters, or to impose such Penance on them, as he thought fit, and to prevent any prejudice, that might arise to his Party, by the testimony of *Nundinarius*, which was by *Zenophilus* certified to the Emperor, he is resolved, to complain first, and to cast the Odium of the Schisme, and all the sad consequences

sequences thereof upon *Cecilian*, whom he ac-
 cuseth to be a Traditor, and contrary to the
 custome of the Church, desireth transmarine
 Bishops to be appointed Judges in the case.
 The Petition was to this effect: *Rogamus* n-
 ' *O Constantine*, we intreat thee *O Constantine*,
 ' most gracious Emperor, whose Father never
 ' exercised Persecution, that your Piety would
 ' appoint us Judges from *France*, because that
 ' Country is free from this dissention. This
 Petition was subscribed by *Lucianus*, *Dignus*,
Nassatus, *Capito*, *Fidentius*, and the other Bi-
 shops of the Party of *Donatus*. The good
 Emperor was much grieved to hear of these
 differences, which he had rather might have
 been determined among themselves, than be
 brought to his Court, (where were many
 Heathen, that would rejoyce at them,) or to
 trouble Foreign Churches with them; How-
 ever he grants their desire, and appoints *Mu-
 rinus*, *Maternus* and *Rheticus*, three Bishops
 of *France*, to whom he adjoyneth the Bishop
 of *Rome*, to determine the cause: And send-
 eth his Epistle to *Meltrades* Bishop of *Rome*,
 which is recorded by *Eusebius*, l. 10. c. 5.
 The Epistle is as followeth, Whereas I have
 received from *Anilinus*, Lieutenant of *Africa*,
 many Letters, signifying, that *Cecilian* Bishop
 of *Carthage*, is accused by divers of his Col-
 leagues; It being grievous to me, that there
 should be dissention among the Bishops, be-
 fore the People, who are so prone to evil.
 It seemeth good to me, that *Cecilian* himself
 with

with Ten of his Accusers, and Ten others, whom he shall choose on his behalf, do Sail to *Rome*, where I have appointed *Meltiades* Bishop of *Rome*, together with *Rheticus*, *Marinus* and *Maternus* Bishops of *France*, to hear and judge of the differences in question. You cannot be ignorant, that I would have you suffer no Schisme, in any part of the Church. The Great God preserve you. These Bishops met at *Rome*, in the House of *Fausta* in the *Laterane*. *Meltiades* took to his Assistance Fifteen *Italian* Bishops to assist for the expedition of the cause. These with great deliberation, heard all that was objected against *Cecilian*, *Donatus* himself being present. The Bishops also agreed to take publick Notaries, for the more orderly and speedy dispatch, that the examinations and proofs in this cause, might be reduced into publick Acts. The first thing that was inquired, was, who were the Accusers, and what Witnesses were present to give Evidence against *Cecilian*? To which, the Party of *Donatus* answered, that their Accusation was contained in the Libels, which they had presented to the Emperor, and by him were transmitted to them, which they desired might be read. One of the Libels was superscribed thus: *Libellus Ecclesie Catholicae, &c.* A Libel of the Catholick Church: (so they called their Faction) containing the Crimes whereof *Cecilian* is accused. What was contained in the Libel, is not particularly mentioned by any Author, nor are Ecclesiastical

Writers agreed, concerning the charge then in question. Those, who in this last Century, have defended the Authority of the *Pope*, say, that nothing came in question, besides the grounds of the Schisme, on pretence, that *Cecilian* himself was a *Traditor*. And hereby they hope to avoid the Appeal, which was made from the sentence of the *Pope*, to the Emperor, because (say they) the questions discussed afterward in the Council of *Arles*, were of a divers nature from those at *Rome*, but of this hereafter.

It is very probable that the *Donatists* had stuffed their Libel with more than a single accusation, some particulars whereof, I shall give an account. The Libel being read, it was demanded, who were *Cecilian's* Accusers? They answered, the People of *Carthage*. It was replied, that the Voice of the People assembled in a tumultuary manner, was not a sufficient ground to condemn any, and therefore the Bishops ordered them to produce some competent Witnesses, to attest the accusation. Whereupon *Donatus* produced some Persons whom he brought with him from *Carthage*, to depose against *Cecilian*. The Charge against him was high: (*viz.*) That while *Cecilian* was a Deacon under *Mensurinus*, he was set by *Mensurinus* near the Prison Doors, where many Catholicks lay, who were appointed to suffer Martyrdom, and did by force (*Loris & flagris & Armatorum multitudinis*) withstand such Friends, as came to comfort

comfort and relieve them. To this the Witnesses for *Donatus*, being examined, could say nothing on their Personal knowledge, but only from the report of the People: This *Optatus* urged against *Parmenian*, p. 36. *Nullis certis personis aut nominibus Traditores accusastis.* The second Article insisted on, was, That *Cecilian* was condemned by a Synod of 70. Bishops at *Cirta*, who being all of them Neighbours to *Carthage*, could not be ignorant of the matters of fact whereof they judged; and that they judged that both *Cecilian*, and *Mensurinus* his Predecessor, and *Felix* who ordained *Cecilian*, were Traditors. To which *Cecilian* replied, that he was condemned in that Assembly, being absent and unheard: That he could not without great hazard of his life, appear among them, who being his professed Enemies, made themselves his Judges: That many of them were corrupted by the Money of *Lucilla* to Vote against him, and that generally they were such as had confessed themselves to have been Traditors, but had absolved one another: And also, that he had received many threatening Messages from some of them, especially from *Purpurinus* Bishop of *Limatia*. Lastly, That they had long before, held private Conferences among themselves, how to destroy him, as well as to depose him, of which things he was advised by several Catholick People, who were ready to attest the same, and by their advice he did forbear to appear. The next Article was, that *Felix*

who ordained *Cecilian* was a Traditor, and so his Ordination was null. But this the Bishops thought not fit to inquire into, *Felix* not being present, nor having been at any time convicted by any Ecclesiastical censure, and so long he had a lawful Power of Ordination. And as in the case of Baptisme, the Catholicks did not rebaptize such as had been baptized by the *Donatists*: So they resolved in this case, That *Crimen Ordinantis non transiret in Ordinatum*. After this, *Donatus* promised to produce other Witnesses against *Cecilian*, which he never did, for divers that came with him deserted him, and returned to *Carthage*. The Bishops therefore acquitted *Cecilian*, in the Sentence recorded by *Optatus*, *Cum confiterit Cecilianum ab iis qui cum Donato venerunt, juxta professionem suam non accusari, nec à Donato convictum esse, sua Ecclesiastica Communioni, integro Statu retinendum, merito esse censeo*. Then *Cecilian* accused *Donatus* for rebaptizing those that came to his Party from the Catholick Church, and for abusing the Bishops; and it appeared by proof, and by *Donatus* his own confession, that he had not only rebaptized many, whom he seduced from the Catholick Church, but also degraded the Bishops and Priests, which *Optatus* expresseth by *occidere Honores*; but also by a certain Ceremony of laying his Hands on their Heads, and shaking them, enjoined them to do severe Penance, contrary to the priviledges and custome of the Church. Hereupon they condemned

ned *Donatus*, and acquitting *Cecilian* received him into their Communion. Of these proceedings *Melriades* certifieth the Emperor: but *Donatus* instead of acquiescing in the Sentence of these Bishops, works secretly with *Fuliminus*, a *Proconsul*, to Mediate with the Emperor, on a pretence of preserving peace, (*Bono pacis*) that *Cecilian* might be confined a while at *Brixia*. Which being granted on that pretence, *Donatus* hastneth to *Africa*, and there boasteth of a Victory against *Cecilian*, and gives out that he was imprisoned at *Brixia*. Which as soon as *Cecilian* understood, he gets leave to return to *Carthage* to deceive the People, and shortly after the Emperor sends two Bishops thither, *Eunomius* and *Olympius*, to assist in the establishing of one Bishop, where the People were as yet divided by two. These having tarried at *Carthage* Fifty Days, and diligently inquired into the causes and grounds of the Schisme, and finding that *Donatus* did Schismatically defend *Altare contra Altare*, (i. e.) Bishop against Bishop; they joyn in communion with *Cecilian*, condemning *Donatus* and his party. But that hardy Man being not daunted by all these Sentences against him, his Faction, as well as his Spirit, growing the greater for this opposition, addresseth himself in another supplication to the Emperor, complaining that *Melriades* and his Colleagues at *Rome*, being but a few, and very partial, (for he reported that *Melriades* himself was a Traditor) did precipitate

pitate the Sentence, not inquiring into the grounds of the difference, and therefore he desired a more full Council might be called for a final determination of that controversy. *Constantine* is pleased of his clemency to appoint a more frequent Council at *Arles*, *Anno* 314. Of which before I speak, it may be material to inquire,

Whether the *Donatists* did Appeal from the Sentence of *Meltiades* and his Colleagues to the Emperor.

For, if *Meltiades* was called to the determination of this Controversie, by a delegated Power, it will necessarily follow, (saith *Albassinaus*, in the fourth Observation on *Optatus*) that the *Popes* in those days were not Universal Pastors, nor had the Supreme Authority of determining Ecclesiastical matters. And the reason of the consequence is evident, for he that submits to the command of another, doth *ipso facto*, confess that he is not Supreme, nor will the Supreme Judge suffer his determinations to be rescinded by another Power. Now it is not denied, 1. That *Meltiades* did sit together with the other Bishops at the Emperor's command: 2. And that *Silvester* his Successor did afterward send his Delegates into *France*, by the same command. 3. That the Emperor did appoint other Bishops to sit with *Meltiades*: and *Meltiades* did joyn with them as coordinate, which he

he would not have done, if the Supreme Power had been his own. 4. The *Donatists* did Appeal (thinking themselves aggrieved) from the Sentence of *Meltrades* and his Colleagues to the Emperor. *Optatus* is so plain herein, that *Valesius* [*de Schismate Donatistarum*] could find no other evasion, but to say, that *Optatus* is corrupted in that place; the words are, *Donatus appellandum esse ab Episcopis credidit*: but he saith less against the second Appeal, from the Council of *Arles* to the Emperor, where the *Pope's* Delegates being sent, (*Silvester* the present *Pope* being himself not able to be present) did acknowledge, that they were *Voluntate Imperatoris adducti*: and *Valesius* grants, that the *Gallican* Bishops did take place of the Delegates, as appears by their Subscriptions.

Optat.
p. 44.

5. That the Emperor did understand it as an Appeal, and acted accordingly; for he did not only appoint such Judges as were desired, but at last determined the case in his own Person; and tells the World, that he thought it his duty so to do: for writing to *Ablavius*, he says: 'If he should neglect to put an end to those Divisions, the Supreme Deity might justly be displeased with Mankind, but especially with him, to whose care, by the Heavenly command, the moderation of all earthly things was committed. The like he saith in an Epistle to *Celsus*, his Lieutenant in *Africa*, *Nil potius à me agi pro instituto meo, ipsiusq; Principis munere oporteat, quam ut discussis erroribus,*

Opt. 286.

xoribus, omnibusq̃, temeritatibus amputatis, ve-
ram religionem, universos, concordemq̃, simpli-
citatem, atq̃, meritam Omnipotenti Deo cultu-
ram, presentare perficiam. He thought it not
 only his duty as a Man, but as a Prince, to ba-
 nish error, and by cutting off rash judging,
 (which was the thing they complained of in
 the Judges at *Rome*,) all Men might preserve
 the true Religion, &c. And in another place,
 he tells his Bishops, that he was *Ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ*
θεοῦ καὶ διακονῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, A Bishop under God,
 in the external affairs of the Church: So that
 the Objection made by the Popish Authors,
 that *Constantine* was a Novice, and understood
 not his own Power, nor the Laws of the
 Church, but invaded the rights of *Meltiades*,
 or that he was forced thereunto by the restless
 importunity of the *Donatists*, and afterward
 asked pardon for his offence, will signifie no-
 thing; if we consider, that as he was bred a
 Christian, so he was too tender of the Bishops
 rights to invade them, which he defended to
 his utmost power; and he was also more pru-
 dent, than to neglect his own duty, or that
 authority which God had given him, for the
 welfare of the Church: In which also Saint
Augustine, Epistle 162. defendeth the Empe-
 ror. Peradventure (saith he) *Meltiades*
 'with his Colleagues, the Transmarine Bishops,
 'ought not to have usurped the judgment,
 'that had been determined by the 70. *African*
 'Bishops, *Tigistannus* sitting Primate; And
 'what say you, if he did not usurp this Po-
 'wer?

wer? (saith St. *Augustine*) for the Emperor being desired, sent Bishops to be Judges, who sat with him, and determined what was just, and to his care (whereof he was to give an account to God) that business did belong. Where it is observable, that in the judgment of St. *Augustine*, *Meltiades* ought not to have interposed in the difference of the Bishops beyond the Seas, but it had been an Usurpation so to do; and when he did meddle, it was by the Emperors command, who joyned other Bishops with him. And doubtless had the *Africans* owned the *Pope's* Universal Pastorship, they would have gone directly to him, whereas they intreated, not the *Pope's Holiness*, but the *Piety of the Emperor* to appoint them Judges: Or at least they would have stood to the *Pope's* determination, which they did not, either at *Rome*, or at *Arles*, but appealed from both to the Emperor; And if the Appeal had been unlawful, either *Meltiades*, or his Successor would have found a means to let the Emperor know his Error, who was more likely to gratifie them in their just demands; than the *Donatists* in what was unjust. The *Popes* of later Ages would have been as loud as the *Donatists* were, when they found the Emperor severe against them, *Quia est Imperatori cum Ecclesiâ?* What hath the Emperor to do with the Church? But we find not any of that Age to contradict what the Emperor had done, but contrarily they approved and submitted to it. And when the

Donatists

Donatists objected in the case of *Felix*, who was acquitted by *Ælian* the Proconsul, That Bishops ought not to be judged by the Secular Power, *St. Augustine* defended it, saying it was not *Felix* his seeking, but the Emperor appointing, to whom it did belong: Epistle 162.

But *Constantine* is made to pay dearly for his meddling with the concerns of the Pope, and if the Donation which the Church of *Rome* boasteth of, had not been forged, the Pope's Universal Pastorship would have been proved more irrefragably from this Donation, than from that of *Christ* to *St. Peter*, of which they boast with equal vanity.

And because the very mentioning of this Donation will be confutation enough, I will give a brief account of it, as I find it in their late Writers, for among the Ancients there is no foot-step of it: *Baronius* who is wont to improve every thing for the Pope's Power, being ashamed of this, doth only refer to the Writers that have particularly treated of it.

This Donation is said to be made to Pope *Silvester* at *Rome*, the Third of the Calends of April. *Augusto Constantino 4to. & Galliano 4to. Cass.* The Original is pretended to have been found, written in the *Greek* Tongue, in the *Vatican* at *Rome*, among other old Records, by *Bartholomæus Pincernus*, who translated it into *Latine*, and presented it to Pope *Julius* the Second. The occasion of it mentioned in the Grant it self, is said to be this, That *Constantine* having revolted from the
Chri-

Christian Religion, and persecuted many of the Bishops, he was smitten with a loathsome Leprosie all over his Body, and having tried many physicians in vain, he was at length advised by the priests of the Capitol, to slay so many Infants as should fill a Cistern with their blood, and bath himself therein, while it was warm; but being moved at the cries of the Mothers of those Infants, that were appointed to be slain, he resolved rather to indure his Disease; and the Night after that he had dismissed the Infants, *Peter* and *Paul* appeared to him, and discovered a surer Remedy, which was, that he should send for *Silvester* Bishop of *Rome*, who for fear of the Persecution raised by *Constantine*, had hid himself in the Caves of the Mountain *Soracte*, and by him his Leprosie should be cured. Hereupon *Silvester* is brought to him, and the first question, that *Constantine* is there said to ask him, was, Who those Gods were that were called *Peter* and *Paul*, and whether he had any Pictures of them, whereby they might be known? *Silvester* presently sent his Deacon, to bring the Pictures of *Peter* and *Paul*: at the sight of which, *Constantine* knew them to be the same that appeared to him in his Vision, and had willed him to send for *Silvester*. To him he therefore confessed his sins, and desired his advice for his health. The Pope enjoyns him for certain Days to go in Sackcloth, within the *Lateran*, and afterward to receive the Sacrament of Baptism, and then he should be

be whole. Accordingly *Constantine* submits to the penance, and prepares for his Baptism; And being in the Holy Font, he saw a Hand stretched from Heaven to support and cleanse him; and being baptized by *Silvester*, he came forth sound, and clean from his Disease. Then was he clothed in white, and anointed with Chrisme, and had the *Pope's* benediction, which was, *Pax tibi*, and all the Clergy answered, *Amen*. The most of these particulars are mentioned by *Baronius*, *Anno Constan. 19*. But nothing of the Donation it self.

After this he makes a large confession of his Faith, which he had learned à *Catholico Hierarchy*, (i. e.) from the *Pope*; And the fourth Day after his Baptism, He confirmed the Donation: Wherein he granted that all the Clergy should honour the Bishop of *Rome*, as their King, whose Throne he exalted above his own, giving him *Imperial Dignity and Principality*, as well above the four Sees of *Alexandria, Antioch, Hierusalem and Constantinople*, as above all other Churches: He grants him also his Imperial Palace of the *Lateran*, and taking a Crown of Gold, set with precious Stones, offered to put it on his Head, but the good *Pope* (as the story says) refused that, and desired only a white Coronet; and to maintain his dignity, he gave him, not only his Palace, but the City of *Rome*, and all the Cities and Provinces of *Italy*, (*Concedimus & relinquimus*, we grant and yield up as the words are) and thereupon the Emperor transfer'd his Court

Court from *Rome* to *Byzantium*, which he builded and called after his own name *Constantinople*, and bound all his Successors under a Curse (which was *habeant Petrum & Paulum sibi contrarios*) not to violate any part of this grant. I think it not fit to tire my Readers patience, to give a full Copy of all the *Regalia* given to the Pope, the *Lorum superhumemale, quod Imperiale collum assolet circumdare, Chlamidem purpureum, Tunicam coccineam & omnia Imperialia Sceptra, Signa & Banna*. And how he appointed all Officers to attend the Pope, as he was attended in his own Person; and that the Clergy should be honoured, after the same manner, as the Senators of the Emperor were, &c. Doubtless *Pincernus* (or some other that imposed on him) wrote a History of the pomp of the Court of *Rome*, which he saw in the days of Pope *Julius* the Second, and not of what was intended by *Constantine*: for if that noble Emperor had given the Pope any of those Dominions, he would not have left them to his Children and Successors, who still had them in possession for many Hundred Years after, all which time we hear nothing of the Pope's claim, in the days of *Constantius, Valentinian, Theodosius, Arcadius, Honorius, &c.* Some of which were so pious, that they would not have Usurped the Rights of the Church, and by violating the Will of their Renowned progenitor, incur the Curse of God.

I have mentioned many *Latine* words
in

l. 3. de vi-
vâ Const.

l. 10. c. 4.

in this Donation, because from them (which are of a later Date, than the time of *Constantine*) the Divines of the Reformed Churches, have raised shrew'd suspicions of forgery: to evade which, the *Romanists* plead, that these were to be imputed to the Translator, who rendred it from the *Greek*, but the Original (if there be any) is kept so secret in the *Pope's* Archives, that the greatest Favourites are not admitted to see it; and doubtless, if it had been published, there would have been more objected against the Original, than against the Translation: For it is very unlikely, that the grant should be made in an unknown Tongue; for *Eusebius* says, that at the Council of *Nica*, the Bishop of *Rome*, who was this very Bishop, spake *Latine*: And the Decrees and Epistles of *Constantine* were generally written in the *Latine* Tongue, out of which *Eusebius* says, he translated them into *Greek*, when he inserted them into his History; and it is strange, that neither *Eusebius*, who wrote the Life of *Constantine*, nor any other Historian, within some Centuries of Years, should acquaint the World with this bounty of the Emperor. Nor do they tell us of his Apostasie and Persecution of the Church, nor of his Leprosie Cured at his Baptism, which was not long before his Death, and that, not by *Silvester* at *Rome*, but by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, in the 65. Year of his Age; *Silvester* being dead about Five Years before. See *Eusebius de Vita Constantini*, l. 4. St. *Hierome* in his Chronicle, *Ruffini*, l. 1. c. 11. *Socrates*, l. 1. c. 39. And

And lastly, it is strange, that none of those authors, that have written the History of his Empire and Actions, many of which I have consulted in compiling this History, should say any thing of his revolt to Idolatry; but on the contrary, do all agree in his constant care of the Church, and defending it against Heresie and Schisme. Especially considering his early institution in the Christian Faith, and the many Victories which he obtained in the Name of Christ, whom he was wont solemnly to invoke before his Battles, as he did in the Fight with *Maxentius*, in answer to whose Prayers, there appeared in the Heavens, to the view of all his Army, the Sign of the Cross, with this Motto, *in tēto viro*, and accordingly *Maxentius* was overthrown at the River *Tiber*, wherein he and a great part of his Army perished. And thereupon the Emperor did bear this Sign afterward in his Standard, and stamped it on several Coins. This shall suffice concerning that fable: I return now to the History. The Emperor, as you have heard, yielding to the *Donatists* importunity, and to leave them without excuse, appoints a Council to meet at *Arles* in *France*, and being at that time, as *Baronius* saith, on the River *Rhine*, intended to be present at it; Accordingly he signified his pleasure to *Silvester* Bishop of *Rome*, to *Marinus* Bishop of *Arles*, and to *Chrestus* Bishop of *Syracusa*, and generally to all the chief Bishops in his several Dominions, that each of them taking to them two
other

other Bishops whom they should choose, should hasten to *Arles*: The Number of the Bishops (as St. *August. contra Parmen.*) was Two Hundred, some say 600. so *Baronius*, from whom Dr. *Heylen* tells us, that *Resistantus* Bishop of *London*, was there present; *Marinus* Bishop of *Arles* late President, though *Fr. Baldwin* contends, that the Delegates of the *Pope* were President; but *Valesius* and others of that Party confess, that *Marinus* was, and the Order of Subscriptions confirms it. The time of Assembling being come, the Emperor meets the Bishops, and commanding off his Guards, sets Himself in the midst of them, and acquaints them that to satisfy the importunity of *Donatus*, who complained of partiality in the Sentence at *Rome*, where (as he pretended) a few Bishops having shut themselves up, *Causâ non satis cognita sententiam precipitabant*, did precipitate judgment without inquiring into the merits of the cause; He had called them to consult and determine of the differences, that had miserably divided the Churches of *Africa*: and setting before them the Proceedings in this cause at *Rome*, he also adds the purgation of *Felix*, who had ordained *Cecilian*, which by the Emperor's care and direction, was dispatched about four Moneths before, by *Ælian* his Proconsul in *Africa*; for the *Donatists* had alledged at *Rome*, that *Felix* Bishop of *Aptung* was a Traditor, and they pretended that this particular was not examined at *Rome*, and that it was the opinion of

of the Church, that the Ordination by Tradi-
 tors was null; *Constantine* therefore sent to
Ælian, to enquire into the Life and Actions
 of *Felix*, which he did with great care and
 integrity, taking to his assistance *Saturninus*,
 who had been *Curator* of the City, while *Dio-
 clesian* lived, and so probably was best ac-
 quainted with the behaviour of *Felix*; and
Gratianus the present *Curator*, *Alfius Ceci-
 lianus* a *Duum-Vir* in the time of Persecuti-
 on, and others. And first they question *Cali-
 dius* and *Saturninus*, what they knew concern-
 ing *Felix*: Both which agreed in a testimony
 of his Innocence, and Christian courage. Then
 was produced by the *Donatists* one *Ingentius* a
 Notary, to testifie that he had seen certain
 Letters in the hands of *Alfius Cecilian*, which
 expressed the guilt of *Felix*, as a Traditor;
 which being produced (and they are yet on
 record in *Baronius*) upon examination, and
 the testimony of *Alfius Ceciliannus* concerning
 them, they were found to be forged, and
 thereupon *Ingentius* was condemned to the
 punishment, called *Equuleius*, unless he would
 confess who had perswaded him to that for-
 gery: The terror of that punishment (which
 was in the nature of a Rack, for two pieces of
 Timber being joyned together, the Offender
 was stretched out at length, and his Hands and
 Feet tyed fast to the Timber, which being
 joyned in the middle by a Skru, the Execu-
 tioners extended it to the racking of every
 Joynt, and if the Offender did not confess,

D

they

they added hot Irons and Pincers, to burn and rent his Flesh) did so prevail with *Ingentius*, that he confessed that he had forged those Letters, at the instigation of some of the *Donatists*; and thereupon he was committed to the Custody of *Petronius Probianus*, to be sent to the Emperor, by whom being examined, he acknowledged the Fact, and implored his clemency. But the Emperor was so provoked at this, that he called the *Donatists*, *Officinam Diaboli*, the Devil's shop.

Together with *Ingentius*, the Emperor receives a full account of the innocency of *Felix*, and relates the whole business to the Council; so that this Objection being answered, there was no considerable Article added *de Novo*, for the *Donatists* did, *Eandem cantilenam canere*, only revive their old slanders, by adding new impudence and malice in the prosecution of them. So that the Council having with great patience heard the clamors and false accusations of the *Donatists*, they justified *Cecilian*, condemning his Accusers, and appointed the 14th. Canon against them. *Qui falso accusant fratres suos, placuit eos usq; ad exitum non communicare, sed falsum testem juxta Scripturam impanitum non licere esse.* These transactions the Emperor immediately confirms: But the *Donatists* were so provoked, that they condemned the whole Council, and the Emperor also of partiality, and especially that famous *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba* in *Spain*, who was in great favour with the Emperor,

Emperor, saying that he was not only a Judge; but an Advocate for *Cecilian*; so that, as *Anteus* in the Poet, the oftner they were foiled, the more their fury was increased against their Adversaries. *Animosq; ex vulnere sumunt.*

These subtle Persons were content to be baffled abroad, while their Party was successful at home, and to animate them, they alway sent home false reports of the condemnation of *Cecilian*; and when these were refuted, of the partiality of the Judges, so that their Numbers did still increase, notwithstanding the *Anathema* of the Council against them; they had the far greater part of the People, and above Two Hundred Bishops to strengthen them. And whereas they pleaded formerly for themselves, that Christ's Flock was a little Flock, and did not act but suffer persecution, their success had furnished them with other Arguments, and with Armes too, for now they begin to boast, that none are so Catholick as themselves, and their Brethren find, that none are so cruel as they; for being much increased, they will not be confined to *Africa* any longer.

The gangrene begins to spread it self into Foreign parts, they planted their Emissaries in *France*, and at *Rome*, where *Victor* was made a titular Bishop, with whom they held correspondence, and had intelligence of all transactions that concerned them; Their Party also grew formidable in *Africa*, and at *Constantina*, formerly *Cirta*, they possessed themselves of the chief Church, and constrained the Ca-

tholicks to meet in the Fiscal belonging to the Emperor : and the Catholicks not being able to oppose their Potent Adversaries, petition the Emperor that they might have leave to convert that place into a Church. The Emperor commiserating their condition, caused a Church to be built for them at his own cost, being unwilling to provoke the *Donatists*, whom he saw to affect a false Martyrdome, and not only to glory in, but to gain by their sufferings. And *Donatus* thinking to have his Faction established by a Law, soliciteth the Emperor for another Meeting, which *St. Augustine* says, Epistle 162. was appointed at *Millain*, where the Emperor once more condemned them, as the Authors of Schisme, and Disturbers of the Peace of the *African Churches*. In so much that the Emperor being wearied by their importunities, sent word to *Valerius* his Lieutenant, that the *Donatists* were *Furori suo & Deo Vindici remittendi*, as an incorrigible Faction to be left to be punished by their own fury, and the righteous judgment of God. Which as *Baronius* observes, the Emperor was constrained to, because he could not otherwise retain *Africa* under his Dominion, but by yielding to so powerful a Faction. He therefore wrote to his Officers, *Ut eos libero dimittant arbitrio*, to grant them Liberty of Conscience, but in the same Letters, *Sic eos detestatur ut nihil eâ indulgentiâ possit deformius inveniri*, he so expresseth his Detestation of them, that nothing may appear

Epist. 162.

Ad Annum
316.

appear more deformed than that Indulgence :
St. Aug. Brevic. Collat. Diei 3. c. 22.

Indeed the Emperor, though he was both
 wise and valiant, had great difficulties to in-
 counter. On the one hand the Senate, which
 was generally made up of *Pagans*, would not
 yield to any alteration of their religious Rites,
 and he was inforced to grant them a Tolerati-
 on, *Ut Senatui morem gereret* : On the other
 hand the Number of Hereticks and Schisma-
 ticks, which exceeded that of the Catholicks in
 divers Countries, gave another check to his
 Authority—*Nos Numerus sumus & mag-
 no dominamur Africi*. They were so nume-
 rous, that upon their revolt all *Africa* was
 in danger of being lost. And here we shall
 observe, that in all these Councils, nothing
 was to be determined, but the case of Schisme,
 as both *Optatus* and *St. Augustine* have recor-
 ded, that is, whether *Cecilian* or *Donatus*
 were the true Pastor and Governor of the
 Church, for we hear not of any dissent in
 point of Doctrine, *Pares credimus & uno si-
 gillo signati sumus : nec aliter Baptizati, nec
 aliter ordinati quam vos, Testamentum Divi-
 num legimus pariter*. We have one Creed,
 one Baptisme, (for the Catholicks allowed of
 their Baptisme where it was not repeated on
 them that were formerly baptized) we read
 the same Divine Testament, we invoke One
 God, the Lord's prayer is the same with us
 and you (for they used it until they thought
 themselves so without sin, that they could re-

Opt. p. 72.

mit the sins of others, and then they saw they could use it no longer without a manifest contradiction, *Quid vocaris dum peccata confiteris tua, si sanctus es cum dimittis aliena, Opt. l. 2.*) but the Schisme that was made, to the dividing of the People of God, and to the destroying of unity, was the great grievance. And it is also remarkable, that, though many Heresies were at this time vented in the Church, as the *Novatian, Macedonian, Audean, Apollinarian,* and *Arian* too, yet none did so much afflict the Churches of *Africa*, as this Schism: against which, as *Optatus* spent all his labour, so *St. Augustine* wrote at least one of those great Volumes, which the Church of GOD doth now enjoy.

The good Emperor, notwithstanding that the *Donatists* had defeated so many of his endeavours for Peace, was resolved to trie one more, which was to call in some of the Eastern Bishops to joyn with those of the West, as he intimates in an Epistle written to *Alexander*, and the other Bishops of *Egypt*, mentioned by *Eusebius* in the Life of *Constantine*; who also says, that the Emperor was much blamed for his too great indulgence toward these implacable Spirits: But if the necessity of his affairs be considered, it will appear, that he could not do otherwise: for having out of his Christian clemency condescended so far to them, they take advantage of some unhappy Circumstances to force him farther.

Anno 315.

For about this time *Licinius*, to whom the Emperor

Emperor had given his own Sister in Marriage, and almost half the Empire, revolted, and begun a War against him. The *Arian* Heresie also was spread over *Egypt*, and like a mighty Torrent overflowed the Christian World. Of which Heresie it will not be impertinent to give a brief Account, because many of the *Donatists*, to strengthen their Faction against the Catholicks, joyned with them; And indeed the descent from Schisme to Heresie, is very facile and familiar.——*Arius* a *Presbyter* of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, appeared about the Year 315. He was bred up under *Meletius* a *Presbyter*, while *Peter* was Bishop of *Alexandria*, by whom *Arius* was made Deacon: but being found to have maintained Opinions contrary to the Catholick Faith, both he and *Meletius*, that had corrupted him, were excommunicated. *Meletius* persisted in his Heretical Opinions, That Christ was not the Eternal Son of God, but a very Man, *Ex utroq; Parente*, and that it was lawful in times of Persecution to deny him, which also he did; pleading for himself, that he had not denied God, but a Man only, and at last *Demonibus sacrificavit*, he sacrificed to Devils. Thus as from Schisme to Heresie, so from Heresie to Infidelity and Atheisme, the passage is obvious. *Arius* refined this Opinion of his Master, and differed but in one Letter from the Catholicks, teaching that Christ was *ὁμοιόμοτος*, of a like substance with his Father, not *ὁμοούσιος*, (i.e.) of the same nature and substance with the Fa-

ther : which Opinion for a while he dissembled, until *Peter* the Bishop was dead, to whom succeeded *Achillas*, who did not only restore *Arius* to his Office of Deacon, but afterward ordained him Priest, and being a Man of subtile parts, he was appointed to be a Reader of Divinity in the City of *Alexandria*, which he performed with some applause, and got such an esteem among the Inhabitants, that the Bishoprick of *Alexandria* being void by the Death of *Achillas*, he was Competitor with *Alexander* : but *Alexander* being a Person of greater Wisdome and Piety, was preferred by a general suffrage. Whereat *Arius* being much discontented, openly opposed *Alexander*, and having nothing to object against his Life, or Learning, he began to contradict his Doctrine: for whereas *Alexander* had taught that Christ was *ὁμοούσιος*, of the same substance, and ought to receive the same Worship with the Father; *Arius* taught that he was indeed the Son of God, and more excellent than the other Creatures, but that he was not from Eternity, but made *Ex praeexistentibus*, of things pre-existent, and did not partake of the substance of the Father, nor was of equal dignity and power, but that the Son was inferior to the Father, and the Holy Ghost inferior to the Son, by whom he was made. So that he affirmed Christ to be the Son of God by Adoption only, not by Eternal Generation, and that he was mortal and passible, not only according to the flesh, but as he was *The Word of God*.
These

These Doctrines the good Bishop could not endure, and finding that *Arius* did diligently propagate and defend them, he first excommunicates him, and then procures his banishment, and sends cautionary Epistles to his Colleagues, throughout *Alexandria*, to suppress those destructive Opinions, and fortifie their People against them, which notwithstanding, a great part, as well of the Clergy, as the Laity, were infected : So that *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba*, a right good Catholick, and a Favourite of the Emperor's, by the intreaty of *Alexander*, perswaded *Constantine* to Summon a General Council of Bishops and Presbyters at *Nicaea*, a City of *Bithynia*, where Three Hundred and Eighteen Bishops, besides Presbyters, and others, assembled together, the Emperor himself being present, and moderating among them. About this time, (but whether during the Session of this Council, or before, it is not agreed by Ecclesiastical Writers) *Arius* dyed, (*Baronius* thinks he dyed not until the Year 336.) But his Death hapned thus : *Alexander* provoked *Arius* to a publick disputation, and the time and place being appointed, *Alexander* sets a-part the precedent day for publick fasting and prayers to God, to put a stop to that pernicious Doctrine, which had so much infected the Catholick Church, as that the very foundations of Christianity were shaken. And the time of Meeting being come, *Arius* going towards the place, was troubled with a violent pain in his bowels, whereupon going aside to ease

*Epiph.
Heres. 69.*

ease himself, the pains increased, and became so violent, that he voided his very Bowels, and so miserably dyed. But his Name and Doctrine survived in another *Arius*, (*Arianus potius homo, quam Arius*) who appeared and disputed with the great *Athanasius* in the Council of *Nice*, to which Council there was presented a Confession of the Faith of the *Arians*, which was no sooner read but condemned, and presently rent in pieces: and the judgment of the Council in Opposition thereto, was drawn up in the *Nicene Creed*. They also ordered the burning of such Tracts, as *Arius* and his Party had written. *Constantine* also published an Edict, that none should conceal any of their Books on pain of Death. However *Lirinenfis* observes, that by these Hereticks, not only the Foundations of the Church, but of the *Roman Empire* were shaken, all things sacred and civil brought to confusion, *Non solum affinitates, cognationes, Domus, verum etiam Urbes, Provinciae, Nationes, imo Universum Romanum Imperium funditus concussum & emotum est.* And St. *Hierome* says, All the *Eastern Churches*, except *Athanasius* and *Paulinus*, were corrupted.

Among the Bishops *Eusebius Nicomediensis* was a chief Defender of the *Arian Heresie*; and *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* was tainted also, for he refused for a while to subscribe the *Anathema* against them, though the next Day he was better perswaded, and did it. But notwithstanding all the Learning and care used by
this

his Council, the *Arians* increased; for *Constantine* dying, his Son *Constantius* succeeded him in part of the Empire, who being of the *Arian* persuasion, did so countenance those Hereticks, that many of the Catholick Bishops were banished, and wandred up and down in remote Parts, among whom *Athanasius*, whom they wickedly called *Sathanasius*, was forced to flee as far as *Triers*, and there lay obscure several Years, until the Storm was over. Of which the good *Leontius* a Catholick Bishop did foretel, when putting his hand on his gray Hairs, he said, When this Snow shall be melted, much filth will be dissolved with it; *Mulum Luti sequetur*, meaning great Persecution and Impiety would shortly befall the Church. To these Hereticks the *Donatists* joyned themselves, many of whom defended the same Opinions, and they that did not, yet agreed in the Persecution of the Catholicks, as their common Enemy. To this Heresie (saith *St. Augustine*) those who are called *Circumcellians* in *Africa* do belong. *De Hares. c. 69.* And *St. Hierome* saith, that *Donatus* wrote a Book, *De Spiritu Sancto*, agreeable to the Doctrine of the *Arians*. For before *Arius* was well known, *Ebion* and *Cerinthus*, and *Corpocrates*, while *St. John* lived, troubled the Churches of *Asia* with the like Opinions, against which, *St. John* at the desire of those Churches, wrote his Gospel, to assert the Eternal Deity of our Saviour. And *Eusebius* and others say, that *Origen* was the Father of *Arius*, for he taught,
That,

That, As much as the Apostles were inferior to Christ, so much was Christ inferior to God; and that the Son was not to be prayed unto with the Father, seeing he was not the Author of granting our requests, but onely a Supplicator, or Mediator. And among these Hereticks, the *Gloria Patri* was altered, which they used in this form: *Gloria Patri, per Filium, in Spiritu Sancto*. Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost.

To this Council we find that *Cecilian* was called, as appears by his Subscription, but none of the *Donatists*, they being excluded from the Communion of the Catholick Church.

The *Donatists* taking occasion of these troubles abroad, did with the more violence persecute their good old cause at home, and now they take the confidence to petition the Emperor *Constantine*, to rescind and abrogate the Laws made against them.

And whereas some of them had been denied the liberty of exercising their Functions, either publickly or privately, and others banished for transgressing the Laws, and inforced to return to secular employments, they urge that their banished may be recalled, particularly that *Silvanus* one of their Bishops, of whom we have spoken before, might return. He was banished upon the accusation of *Nundinarius*, for selling the Ornaments of his Church: but his Party reported that he was banished, for refusing to communicate with *Ursacius* and *Zenophilus*, two Catholick Officers

cers under the Emperor, who, as they said,
 did persecute him. This slander St. *Augustine*
 refuteth, l. 3. *contra Cresconium*, c. 30. where
 he shews, that the cause of his banishment was
 not as they pretended, for denying to commu-
 nicate with the Catholicks only, but --- *Quia*
cum jam traditor fuit, permanere hereticus
voluit, ut falsum honorem in parte Donati ha-
beret, qui habere in Catholicâ nullum potuit,
tam manifestis traditionis suæ gestis publico ju-
dicio reſeratis: because being evidently pro-
 ved a Traditor, he would continue in the
 Schisme, hoping to find a false honor among
 the *Donatists*, who could have none among
 the Catholicks. It hapned, that this *Ursacius*
 being imployed in the Emperor's Wars, lost
 his life, at whole Death the *Donatists* rejoyced,
 as a token of Divine vengeance against a Capi-
 tal Enemy of theirs. I may not omit another
 clause of their petition, which was, that they
 might enjoy --- *Libertatem Arbitrii*, that is, as
Valesius, c. 17. interprets it, Liberty of Con-
 science, but St. *Augustine* calls it more fitly,
Licentiam agendi, a Licence to do what they
 pleased, and that they might no more be con-
 strained to communicate *Antistiti ipsius* (i. e.
Constantini) *Nebuloni*, with that Prelatical
 Knave of his, *Cecilian*, *Collog. Cath.* l. 3. c.
 54. & *Brevic. Augst.* c. 21. Declaring, that
 neither by threats nor promises, they would
 be thereunto induced, but would rather suffer
 a Thousand Deaths. These demands of theirs,
 how insolent soever, were proposed in such a
 juncture

juncture of time, that the Emperor could not
 deny them; but grants what they desired, leav-
 ing them to the Divine vengeance, which had
 begun to be revenged on them. The conside-
 ration of this restless temper of theirs, put
 St. *Augustine* into so great a passion, that he
 said, Epistle 167. *Puto quod Diabolus ipse*
 'I think that if the Devil himself had been so
 'often condemned, by Judges of his own choo-
 'sing, he would not have been so impudent,
 'as to persist in such a cause. Now that this
 indulgence was extorted from the Emperor,
 may appear by his consolatory Epistle, writ-
 ten to the Catholick Bishops, which I shall
 here insert, from the Appendix to *Opera*,
 p. 287. — 'You well know that I have ende-
 'voured, by all the Offices of humanity and
 'moderation, which either faith requireth, or
 'prudence and purity would admit, that the
 'most holy peace of that fraternity, where-
 'with the grace of God hath indued the hearts
 'of his Servants, might in all things be kept
 'inviolable. But for as much as our good en-
 'deavours have not been effectual to subdue
 'that power of wickedness, which adheres to
 'the judgment of those, who still rejoyce in
 'the mischiefs which they have acted; we must
 'expect, until by the mercy of Almighty God,
 'the malice of these Men, which from a few,
 'hath infected many, be again mitigated; for,
 'from thence we must expect a remedy, from
 'whence every good work proceeds: and un-
 'til this heavenly Medicine be applied, our
 'counsels

' counsels are to be moderated, that we may
 ' give an Honourable testimony of our pati-
 ' ence, and by the virtue of true tranquillity,
 ' we may endure whatever their wonted inso-
 ' lence shall do or attempt. For it is a folly to
 ' usurp that revenge, which we ought to leave
 ' to God, especially when by faith, we ought
 ' to be confident, notwithstanding all that the
 ' fury of such Men may cause us to suffer, that
 ' God will esteem it as Martyrdom: for what
 ' else is it, at such a time as this, to overcome
 ' in the Name of God, and with a constant
 ' heart to endure the insolent affronts of such,
 ' as afflict the People of peace? This if your
 ' Serenity shall observe, you shall soon see by
 ' the grace of God, that the Ring-leaders of
 ' contention will be destroyed, when their de-
 ' signs shall be frustrated, and their manners
 ' discovered: In the mean time, let all your
 ' People know, that they ought not to be led
 ' to Eternal Death, by the persuasion of a few
 ' desperate Persons; but that by the grace of
 ' repentance, and amendment of their errors,
 ' they may be reconciled to Eternal Life.----

Moreover he was pleased to certify *Eumalinus*,
 and other his Officers in *Africa*, of *Cecilian's*
 innocency. (*Pervidi inquit Cecilianum, &c.*)
 I have always found *Cecilian* to be a Man of
 great integrity, and free from the crimes ob-
 jected by his Adversaries. But the *Donatists*
 were now by their great Numbers, above the
 Laws and Power of the Emperor, for now was
Constantine employed to suppress the War rai-
 sed

sed by *Licinius*, which he did with much more ease, than he could the Tumults of the *Donatists*. And the Catholick Bishops were busied in confuting the *Arians*. *Credo nostros in refutandis Arianis totos fuisse*, *Hist. Collat. Carth.* p. 606. which is the reason that we hear but little of the *Donatists* for five or six Years, the Council at *Nice* continuing for three Years; but the Council being risen, and the Catholick Bishops returned, the controversy is renewed, and carried on with more fury than ever: For *Donatus* the first being dead, *Donatus Magnus* (as his Party called him) succeeds him in the pretended Bishoprick of *Carthage*: A man of more Learning, and popular reputation than his Predecessor, and of no less zeal, and obstinacy in opposing the Catholicks, and supporting the Faction, among whom there was none so proud and fanatick as himself. I find this Character of him.--- *Eò evasit Donatus, ut non modo tanquam alter Hannibal Imperatores contemnebat, sed ut deus aliquis à suis coleretur*. He got Troops of Armed Men to prosecute his designs, and called their Captains *Duces Sanctorum*; these often affronted the Emperor's Officers. *Baronius* observes in the 26th. Year of *Constantine*, that he did not only load the Prefects with reproaches, calling them *Senatus opprobrium*, & *dedecus Praefectorum*, but did also cast dirt on the Emperor, as if he had been corrupted by the Catholicks, *Corruptum esse Imperatorem*. *Delib. Hist.* p. 246. which he did

Optatus,
p. 68.

did on this occasion ; The good Emperor commiserating the great sufferings of the Churches of *Africa*, gives Order for considerable Sums of Money to be sent to *Cecilian*, with a gracious Letter, which is recorded by *Eusebius*, l. 10. c. 6. to this effect : *Constantine* the Emperor to *Cecilian* Bishop of *Carthage* sendeth Greeting. I have sent Letters to *Ursus* Lieutenant of *Africa*, that he cause 3000. *Folles* of Silver to be delivered to thy fidelity, for the relief of the Churches of *Africa*; and if this suffice not, demand of *Heracius* our Treasurer, as much as may be sufficient. And whereas I understand, that some lewd People have much disturbed the peace of the Church, I have given Order in the presence of *Anilinus* and *Patricius*, to take cognizance thereof, and in no wise to permit such things. If therefore those Men persist in their folly, acquaint the Governors thereof, that they may act as I have appointed them. The Great God preserve thee.

This great bounty and grace of the Emperor, which did, as so much Oyl, heal the wounds and refresh the countenances of *Cecilian* and his people, had a contrary effect on the spirits of *Donatus* and his Complices, whose malice was hereby inflamed to rage and fury, so that he forbid his People to accept any portion of the Emperor's Largesse, if it should be offered. Whereof *Opratus* gives the reason, p. 64. *Misit ornamenta Domibus Dei,*

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misit

misit Eleemosynas Ceciliano, nil Donato. He
 sent Ornaments to the Catholick Churches
 and gifts to *Cecilian*, but nothing to *Donatus*.
 And at last, the Emperor saw a necessity of
 using more severity towards them, and to re-
 scue the Catholick Churches by force out of
 the hands of the *Donatists*, who in the late
 times of distraction, had taken possession of
 them, and triumphed alone, *nobis absentibus*, says *Optatus*: The Emperor therefore by
 a more strict Edict, not only denied them any
 publick Places of Worship, but forbade them
 to reside in any of his Cities. *St. Augustin*
 mentioneth another Law against them, and
 any others that should trouble the peace of
 the Church; by which it was provided, that
 all such as called themselves Christians, and
 refused to communicate with the Catholick
 Churches, *sed in suis conventiculis separatim*
congregantur, and gathered into separate Con-
 gregations, should be suppressed. And that
 such priests as did ordain, or were ordained
 otherwise than the Church did approve of,
 should be fined in a Mult of Ten Pounds of
 Gold, and the Place wherein such impious
 Meetings were held, should be forfeited to
 the Emperor, if the owners were consenting
 thereunto. Moreover they were made un-
 capable of any Ecclesiastical promotion, *Ut nihil*
Ecclesia nomine possiderent, and that the Goods
 of such as were convicted, should be seized on
 for the Emperor, *Fisco vindicarentur*. *St. Aug.*
Epist. 47. c. 166. and l. 1^o contra Parmen.
 and

and *Brutius Epitome Bapn.* p. 550. And that which made these Laws more effectual, was the Emperor's charge to his Sons, to put them in Execution after his Death : whereby their hopes of Indulgence were much abated. And by this means the Church had a Prospect of Peace and Unity before it ; and Children were restored to their Parents, Wives to their Husbands, Servants to their Masters, and all of them to the Unity of the Church.

It may here be seasonable to consider, with what Mortar these Persons daubed, to make a Building that consisted of such different Materials, (*Ædificium quod de ruinis constat*, as *Ostiat.* p. 62.) to subsist and joyn together, notwithstanding the opposition against it, by so Porent and Religious a Prince, and the joyned endeavours of the Catholick Bishops and People, and several Councils, as well Foreign, as of their own Nation. For the Emperor had sent expresse command to *Anilinus*, not only to restore to the Catholick Churches, all those possessions and priviledges, which any of their Adversaries had usurped ; *Sive hortos, sive Aedes, sive aliud quodcunq; ad jus Ecclesiasticum aliquando spectaverat*, *Enseb.* l. 10. c. 16. but more especially, he granted to the Clergy, united in Communion with *Cecilian*, new Priviledges and Immunities, --- As in the 7th. Chap. of *Ensebinus*, l. 10. *Ut absq; ulla molestia propriæ legi obsequium præstent*. But exempted as well Schismaticks as Hereticks from the benefit of those Edicts. And in a-

nother Epistle to *Cecilian*, having ordered him
 to receive what Money he should want, he
 adds, *Quoniam accepi, &c.* 'Whereas I un-
 derstand that some Men of unstable and ill-
 composed minds, do seek by corrupt practi-
 ces to withdraw the People from the Catho-
 lick Church, I have given order to *Anilinus*
 my Proconsul, and *Patricius* my Vicar, of
 the Prefects, when they were with me, *ut*
rem ejusmodi nullo modo negligerent, that they
 should carefully suppress such, and if you
 find any to persist in that madness, that you
 speedily acquaint those Judges therewith,
 that they may punish them, as I have com-
 manded. And in another Epistle, *ad Episco-*
pos Catholicos, he acquaints them, that he had
 commanded his Prefects to bring to his Court
 such *Donatists* as did disturb them, *ut ibi sibi*
mortem pervideant, &c. that they might see
 the terrors of Death, which were prepared
 for them. So that we may admire, how such
 a peevish Faction should not only subsist, but
 the Leaders of it being Men of pernicious
 Principles and Practices, should delude such
 Numbers of the People, and retain them not
 only in their Communion, but at their Devotion:
 but the Scripture hath foretold, what
 Arts and Methods, the Instruments of Satan
 should use to deceive unstable Souls, most of
 which were very diligently practised by these
Donatists, as St. *Augustine* observed in his
 Epistle to *Vincentius*.

As first their tampering with the weaker
 Sex,

Sex, and most ignorant sort of People, such as had weak judgments, but strong affections; and being once seduced, were perverse and violent in their ways, and deaf to all reason and arguments to the contrary. So *Rom. 16. 18.* it is said, *they should deceive the hearts of the simple*; and *2 Tim. 3. 6.* *Lead captive silly Women*: Accordingly *Optatus* observes, that the weaker Sex, and Younger sort, were generally seduced by them, *Exivit Uxor, &c.* The Wives and Children were seduced from their Husbands and Parents.

2dly, Their transforming themselves (as Satan himself may do) into Angels of Light, pretending to greater Purity, better Ordinances, and a greater shew of severity, in the Discipline which they used, for the admission of lapsed Persons; whence they were called the rigid *Donatists*, *Nè Luce veritatis carere ostendantur, umbram rigide severitatis obtinent.* They supplied the want of solid piety by the shadow of rigid severity. *August. contra Parmen. l. 3.* And according to what the Apostle observed of the *Gnosticks*, They had a form of Godliness, but denied the power thereof, *2 Tim. 3. 5.*

3dly, Their good words and fair speeches, *Rom. 16. 18.* commending such as they would seduce, for some excellent gifts, or good affections, and conversing familiarly with them, promising glorious Privileges, and liberty to act according to their own Consciences, assuring them of remission of their Sins, and of
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special

special grace and favour with God.

4ly, They pretended also to immediate Revelations, and Answers of their prayers from God; As that an Angel was sent to confirm them in their ways; that there were divers prodigies and Signs declared from Heaven, as tokens of their acceptation with God; for if any strange accident fell out, they interpreted it to the Vulgar, as a special providence, to assert their cause. If the Heathen invaded the Emperor's Dominions, or overthrew his Armies, or slew any of those Commanders that had been Instruments of their Correction, these were demonstrations of God's displeasure against their Adversaries. *Periit Marcarius, periit Ursacius, cunctiq; comites vestri, Dei pariter vindicta perierunt, August. contra Petil. l. 2. c. 92.*

5ly, The false reports, and unjust censures raised against such as were not of their Communion, as well Superiors, as Equals: for as St. Peter observes, *2 Pet. 2. 10. They are not afraid to speak evil of Dignities:* as that Constantine was corrupted by Hosius, a famous Bishop, St. August. l. 1. contra Parmen. 2dly, That Meltiades was a Traditor, *Brevic. Collationis cum Donatistis.* 3dly, That the Catholics were Idolaters and Persecutors, having extorted the Penal Laws from the Emperor against them. They also spake evil of their Worship, that they had no Ministers nor Sacraments, nor was there Salvation to be had in their Communion; so that as St. Augustine says,

says, they carried on their work, *Per insanas querelas, & vana mendacia*, by furious complaints, and vain lies: *Contra Donat. post Col-lat.* And when nothing would stick on their Doctrine, then against their Persons. *Cum adversariorum Doctrinam refellere non possunt, eorum mores accusarunt. Iste sunt Hæreticorum Machina, ut convicli de perfidia, ad maledicta se conferunt; Hieron. contra Rufinum.* The miscarriage of one Catholick, was enough to cause them to defame not only his whole conversation, but the whole Church, *quasi homo ille esset Causa: Aug. ad Crescon.* They rejected the Liturgy then used by the Catholicks, which both *Optatus*, and *Tertullian* before him, called the Legitimate Prayers, as the double salutation, or *Pax vobiscum*, with which they begun, and ended their Prayers. The Prayer for the Catholick Church, which, as it was framed by the Apostles injunction, *1 Tim. 2. 1.* so it had been from his days alway continued in the Church, and was called *Sacrificium pro Ecclesiâ*; They omitted also the Prayer for the Emperor, in that Collect, mentioned by *Tertullian* to be used in the Church of *Africa*, even for such Emperors as persecuted it; *Oramus pro Imperatore, pro Ministris ejus, & potestatibus seculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis, &c.* And no wonder that they rejected the Prayers of the Church, when they also left off the use of the Lord's Prayer. They also pulled down many of their Churches, and such as they thought fit to preserve for their

Opt. p. 64.

own use, they washed the Walls and Pavements, as if the Assemblies of the Catholicks had defiled them: They razed their Altars to the ground, and often cast their Bibles into the Fire, which was the very crime that they objected against the Catholicks, and particularly against *Cecilian*, from whose communion they separated on that account. And all this they did under a pretence of zeal for reformation, and a purer worship.

6ly, As often as they had power in their hands, they did not only silence the Catholick Bishops, but deprived them of all sustenance, and banished them from their Habitations.

Aut tacenda erat veritas, aut eorum immanitas ferenda, as St. *Augustine* complained, *Epist.* 50. They must either conceal the truth, or yield themselves up to the cruelty of their Adversaries, that laid wait for them, knowing that their errors could not resist the light of the truth; *Nec predicari à Catholicis veritatem patiebantur, contra suum errorem.*

7ly, When they admitted any to their Communion, they Rebaptized, and imposed new Vows and Covenants on them, obliging them not to approach the Catholick Assemblies, or hear any of their Bishops, which St. *Augustine* desired of *Crispine*, *Epistle* 172. And in the next *Epistle*, he acquaints us with another Art used by *Crispine*, to increase and keep firm his Profelytes. *Crispine* being a wealthy Man, as the *Donarists* generally were by the Spoils of the Catholicks, he employed none

Appendix
ad Opt.
p. 612.

to dress his ground, or to manage his affairs, but such as did profess to be of his Parry; and to every one that would be rebaptized by him, he gave a certain Summ of Money, and promised more, by which means he had corrupted great Numbers, whose dependance being wholly on him, they were ready to execute his designs against the Catholicks. St. *Augustine* asks him, Epistle 173. how he would be able to answer *Christ*, when he should question him for such sacrilegious practices, upon those souls, which he had redeemed with his Blood; *Crispine, Carum fuit precium tuum, ad emendum timorem Mappaliensium, & vilis mors mea, ad emendum amorem Gentium? Plus valuit rebaptizandis colonis tuis quod numeratum est de sacculo tuo, quam baptizandis populis meis, quod manavit de latere meo.* O *Crispine*, Why shouldest thou corrupt with thy Money those poor Souls, to live in fear of thee, whom I redeemed with my Blood to live in the love of me?

8ly, Their Pride and Reputation with the People, kept off many of their Bishops from the Church communion. *Vinci possunt, suaderi non possunt.* saith St. *Augustine*; he gives instance in *Tichonius*, who was one of their most learned Bishops, and defended the Article of the Catholick Church, yet kept himself in the Schisme still. And though divers of them knew and hated the pride of *Donatus*, yet they deserted him not, or with a greater pride, to set up for themselves in a
more

more Congregational way. *Alia schismata facta sunt ex vobis, sicut Rogatense in Mauritania, Urbanense in Numidia, &c. contra Cresc.* l. 4. c. 60. *Convicta est falsitas, apparuit veritas, & adhuc contemnitur charitas. Postulat.* They were convinced of the falshood of their own Opinions, and the truth of those of the Catholicks, yet would not imbrace peace. So did *Tichonius*, who continued in the Schisme, when he was convinced that it was so; having espoused the Schisme, and gained great reputation, he knew not how to leave that, and his credit too. l. 2. *contra Parmen.* And Men do either love the pre-eminence, or to hear themselves prate, as *Diotrephes* did. 3 *John* 9. or if they gain a livelihood, and wealth, as *Demetrius* and his Crafts-men by the Shrines of *Diana*, *Acts* 19. their Ears are so stopt, that neither the Arguments of *St. Paul*, nor the Eloquence of *Apollos*, nor the Authority of *Cephas*, are sufficient to open them, but they will still resist the truth; *M* of corrupt minds, reprobate (or as our Margent reads it, of no judgment) concerning the Faith.

¶ *Tim.* 3. 8.

¶ *Pet.* 3. 16.

oly, *St. Peter* tells us of some places of Scripture hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable, do wrest. And this was another evil art, whereby they advantaged their Party: They would, *Preferre Evangelium*, take a Text of Scripture, as *Optatus*, p. 78. and usually such as they did not understand, *non intellectas Lectiones*, from the

the *Canticles*, or *Daniel*, or the *Revelations*, and these must be made to speak their Language, and promote their designs. So they interpreted that of the Prophet *Isay*, calling the People from the Captivity of *Babylon*, to justify their Separation, and from *St. Paul*, 2 *Corinth*. 6. they would perswade the People not to have any commerce with, or to salute others. So in the Conference at *Carthage*, to prove that the whole World was Apostatized, except the Church of Christ with them; they alledge the revolt of the Ten Tribes, and compare themselves to *Judah*. *St. August.* *de Verbis Domini in Johan. Serm.* 50. names their quoting of *Canticles* 1. 7. as a proof, that they were the Church of Christ: Because it is there said, that he maketh his Flock to rest in *Meridie*, (i. e.) say they, in the South, where *Africa* lay; of which see *St. August.* *De unitate Ecclesie* c. 14. (I wonder the less at these, when I find *A Lapid*, from the same Text, telling us, that *Meridies* is *Romana Ecclesia*, ad quam *Petrus* jubente Christo, ex *Ierusalem* & *Antiochia*, transtulit Pontificatum suum.) Thus to prove themselves without sin, they alledged *Eph.* 5. 27. where it is said, Christ gave himself for his Church, that he might present it a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, which they applied to themselves, as *St. Augustine* observes. Absit ut quis nostrum ita se justum dicat ut sine peccata in hac vita se esse jactaret, as did the *Donatists* in our Conference, saying, that they were

were in that Church, which hath no spot, nor wrinkle, *Epist. 50.* They accounted themselves to be, *Cœlestes in Cœlo*, and others *Terrestres in Terrâ.* *August. Epistle 48.* They were the few that were chosen, the rest were reprobates. They were *Israelites*, and others *Egyptians* and Persecutors. They the Flock of Christ, others were Wolves. Whatever the Text was, a great part of the Sermon was to this purpose. *Nec mirum si Scriptura pacem non intelligent, qui pacem cum Dei Ecclesiâ non habebunt.* *August. de Gestis cum Emerito.* It is no strange thing, if they do not understand the truth, who do hate peace.

1oly, Their ready compliance with all other factious Parties, though never so vile and heretical, was another advantageous practice. For though there were great feuds between the *Donatists*, and others that separated from them on the like pretences as they separated from the Catholics, as *Maximinianists* and *Luciferians*, who were professed *Anabaptists*, the *Circumcellians* much like our Quakers, the *Enchiræ* and *Massalians*, who were perfect *Enthusiasts*, and the *Arians*, who denied the Deity of our Saviour, and the Holy Ghost: yet as often as there was an opportunity of vexing and afflicting the Catholics, they all united as one Man, and forgetting their private animosities, armed themselves as against their common Enemy; yea they scrupled not to joyn with the *Jews*, the most implacable Enemies of Christianity; and when they were destitute

constitute of other Assistants, to make use of the power of the barbarous *Goths* and *Vandal*s. Thus *Manasseh* vexed *Ephraim*, and *Ephraim*, *Manasseh*; but both joyned to oppose *Judah*, *Isay* 9. 21. Thus it was in the Infancy of the Church, and thus it will be until its Consummation: *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate*, the *Gentiles* and the People of *Israel*, will conspire against it, *Acts* 4. 27.

11ly, Their promiscuous receiving of Men of desperate fortunes, and as desperate resolutions, into their Parties. Such as were in debt, or disgrace, through their debauchery and vicious lives, such as were discontented, and thinking themselves injured by their Magistrates, parents or Masters, upon whom they could not otherwise be revenged, made *Donatus* or his Successors their protectors, they were immediately above the Power of the Laws, their debts are all satisfied, and all obligations of Nature and Religion cancelled, and if they believe their Leaders, their sins are all pardoned. This honour did those new Saints confer upon each other, while they lived, and promised no less than a Crown of Martyrdom, if they dyed in defence of that Holy League.

12ly, Another Engine which they employed, was, the maintaining of Emissaries in all places, where there was hope of advancing their cause and Party. They had their Confederates in *Rome*, who scrved themselves into the favour of great Men: nor wanted they their Advocates

cates in the Emperor's Court; for being many of them enriched by the spoils of others, they were very free in their Bribes and Presents to Men in Power, to purchase liberty to themselves; and being Men of smooth Tongues and soft discourse, as well as of crafty and complying conversation, they did insinuate themselves to the acquaintance and counsels of some good Men, with a design to betray them, and not unlike our Jesuits could personate all sorts and degrees of Men, that by all means they might increase the Number of their Profelytes, and support their Cause. To which we may add, the familiar and constant correspondence which they held among themselves, advising not only what was done, but what was most facile and probable to be effected: nor did they only meet frequently to consult on such means, but did as unanimously agree and resolve on them, and having resolved, as vigorously act and prosecute their designs with great secrecie and constancy; for, as our Saviour observed of the unjust Steward, *The*

Luk. 16. 8. Children of this World are wiser in their generation than the Children of light: (i.e.) (according to the *Hobrew* phrase) *in rebus suis agendis*, in prosecuting those worldly affairs wherein they are concerned, (for the *Hobrews* call the actions of Men *תולדות*, i.e. *works*, as *Vatablus* sheweth from *Gen. 6. 9.* and *37. 2.*) And the reason of it is, because when Men are conscious to themselves of unjust dealing with others, their own just fears

do excite them to advise warily, and act speedily and industriously for their security. Whereas the righteous Man having also an honest cause, supposeth his innocency to be a sufficient guard, and therefore is less studious and solicitous for his own preservation.

Lastly, And the great countenance they gave to the Vices of their Profelytes, was no small advantage to the Faction, for they were better than their words to them; they promised only liberty, but they allowed all manner of licentiousness; they counted it no sin in them to rob, and deceive the Catholicks, nor to defile themselves with fleshly lusts. *Unde tanta turba convivarum ebriosorum, & innuptarum, sed non incorruptarum, innumerabilia stupra facinarum? Aug. l. 3. contra Parmen.* They had Principles and Doctrines that encouraged them to live more lewdly than others, as that all their sins were already pardoned, and that they could never fall from the grace of God. In so much as their sins, as well as their Opinions had a Toleration. *Greges ebrios sanctimonialium suarum, cum gregibus ebriis circumcellionum die noctuq; permixtos vagari turpiter sinunt. cont. Parm. l. 2^o.* Their Teachers permitted the unclean Circumcellians to wander up and down, Day and Night, with young Women, who pretended vows of Chastity, and more holiness than others, as the Gnosticks had done before them, but lived in all Uncleanness. If any Bishop or Priest were cast out of the Catholick Communion,

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l. 3. contr.
Petil.

for scandalous offences, and fled to them, they received and defended him; and he that was in his own account unworthy of the Office of a Deacon in the Catholick Church, is accounted fit, not only to be a Presbyter, but to create Presbyters too among the *Donatists*, as *Splendonius* did. *Extant innumerabilia documenta in iis qui vel Episcopi vel alterius gradus Clerici fuerunt, & tunc degradati, vel pudore in alias terras abierunt, vel ad vos ipsos vel ad alias hereses*, saith *St. Augustine*. And when any Bishop or private Person deserted them, to joyn in Communion with the Catholick Church, they did not only defame him, but by open violence, and secret conspiracies sought his utter ruine: to which the People were encouraged by their Priests, who taught them, that therein they should do God good service, as they did concerning *St. Augustine*. It was a difficult matter to find any one among them, that had a good opinion of any that were of another Communion, or that did think soberly of himself, but this proud conceit did generally swell, and poyson their souls, that they were the most excellent Christians, and others reprobates: *Qui se à Christianitate discindunt, se solos Christianos esse jactant, & damnant ceteros.* *Aug. contra Crescon.* l. 4. c. 59.

By these and other such arts, they increased their Faction, and made it formidable, not only to the Bishops, but to the Emperor himself, by whose care and good government, though the limbs

limbs of the Faction were cut off, yet the heads and the heart remained still, and with innumerable affronts and vexations, did they grieve that good Emperor, whom (as much as in them lay) they had slain in * his reputation, and *tantum* *non* with violent hands brought down his gray Hairs with sorrow to the Grave, in the 65. Year of his Age, and the 31th.

of his Empire: But their malicious spirits survived, to the perpetual trouble of the Church, and of the Emperor's Sons, which succeeded him; whereof *Constantine* was slain shortly after, by his Brothers Souldiers; *Constantians*, who lived longer, and was Heir to his Father's Vertues, as well as his Dominions, was also made the object of the *Donatists* malice; for during these revolutions of the Empire, they recruited their Faction, and had spawned a mad fry of Fanatick Persons, called *Circumcellians*, to be their Champions, for though they did not always own them to be of their Communion, yet did they on all occasions imploy them to fight against the common Enemy. These *Circumcellians* were encouraged by *Donatus*, who pretended that an Angel had appeared to him, and assured him of the confirmation of his Faction, and that he had immediate answer of his Prayers from God, *Oravit Donatus & respondit ei Deus à cælo*, and that as many as suffered violent Deaths, in defence of the good old cause,

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should

* In the Language of *Optatus*, they did *occidere Oleum*, slew him with the sword of their tongues, and handled him, as if he had not been the Lords anointed.

Anno 348.

should have a Crown of Martyrdome, and for their encouragement, white Altars or Memorials were erected to their honour, and great commendations of them were celebrated in publick Assemblies. Now *Constantine* the Emperor, being mindful of his Father's charge, and in imitation of his Example, sent *Paulinus* and *Macarius* with some Gifts and Almes to the Churches of *Africa*, but with a Commission also, to endeavour the unity of those Churches. Whereof *Donatus* having intelligence, although those Legates whom *Optatus* calls *operarios unitatis*, did in a friendly manner apply themselves to him, first offering him to partake of the Emperor's bounty, and then perswading him to imbrace peace and unity with the Catholick Bishops, as the Emperor had given them instructions, he not only refused to accept of the Emperor's Largesse, but returned many opprobrious speeches, *Quid est imperatori cum Ecclesia?* What hath the Emperor to do with the Church? (*an quid est Ecclesia cum Regibus Seculi quos nunquam nisi invidos Christianitas sensit? & multa maledicta effudit*) or what hath the Church to do with the Kings of this World? who have been always adversaries to Christianity: and so he rejected the Emperor's propositions for peace, with as much pride and contempt, as the Emperor did with Humility and Charity offer them.

There was at this time another *Donatus* Bishop of *Bagaia*, who gathered great Troops
of

of the *Circumcellians*, to oppose the Emperor's Legates, to intercept the Gifts and Monies which they were dispersing, for the relief of the several Churches. Of which the Legates being advised, and apprehending themselves in great danger, by reason of the flocking together of those desperate persons; They sent to *Silvester*, who had then the command of the Souldiers, to send them a Guard of Souldiers, not that they intended to be Aggressors, but only (*vim vi repellere*) to defend themselves against those furious Persons, that were in an extraordinary manner assembled: And the event proved, that they did but what was necessary; for the People were stirred up to Sedition, by jealousies and prejudices against the Emperor, which the *Donatists* had scattered through all *Africa*, perswading them that *Paulus* and *Macarius* had brought with them certain Images, which they intended to set upon the Altars, and to command a Superstitious Worship and Sacrifice to them, whereas they came only as Ambassadors of Peace, and Instruments of Union. And notwithstanding all the affronts which they received from that furious and desperate Party, who often set upon the Guards of Souldiers, to their own destruction, the Legates at the request of the Catholics did forbear any farther acts of Hostility, nor did they act any thing prejudicial to the true Religion. *Nulli dictum est Nega Deum, Incende testamentum, &c.* None were required to deny God, to burn their Bibles,

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or destroy the Churches. *Sola fuerunt ad pacem hortamenta, ut Deus & Christus ejus à Populo in unum conveniente pariter rogaretur.* They only endeavoured, according to the Emperor's instruction, to exhort them to peace, and unity, that they would worship God and Christ with one consent in an uniform manner. But these exhortations to peace, did more offend them, than the tidings of War; they loved the inheritance of Schisme more than the Legacy of Christ; *Nunciata unitate omnes fugistis*; at the very name of peace they all desert the Legates, and become their Enemies, and both by open violence and secret plots, by their slanders and Swords too are always provoking them. And yet these *Donatists* did not only complain of Persecution by the Legates, but imputed it to the Catholicks, as if they had procured those Bands of Souldiers with a purpose to destroy them, to which *Optatus* answereth, *Quod ab aliis vobis provocantibus factum est, nobis non debet imputari; quicquid objecistis, vos fecistis*; that if it were true that the *Donatists* were slain by the Souldiers, yet it was false that it was done by the procurement of the Catholicks, who always mediated with the Officers to spare them; And that in truth the Emperor's Officers never used violence, but when they were first provoked; *Nullus erat primitus terror, nemo vidit virgam, nemo custodiam*; there was no terror against any but evil doers, no punishment or Prison threatned to any peaceable Chri-

Opt. p. 64.

p. 69.

Christian, the Emperor only preserved peace in the State. And about the end of *Constans* his Reign, there was a Council held at *Garthage*, *Gratus* being then Bishop, to restore peace to the Church, in which they decreed divers Canons against rebaptizing, and to prevent that desperate practice of the *Circumcellians*, to cast themselves from high precipices, and by other violent practices to destroy themselves. And thus for a while the fury of the *Donatists* was abated, and the hopes of peace and settlement comforted the Church. But this good Emperor is untimely slain by divers Military men, who conspired against him, thinking to divide the Empire among themselves. One *Marcellinus* invites him to a Supper, and continuing with him late at Night, *Magnentius* one of the Conspirators begins to affright him, whereupon the Emperor fled to *Helena*, whither they sent a selected Company of Souldiers, and murdered him; But *Constantius* his Brother succeeded him, who at his entrance on the Government, did seem to favour the *Orthodox* against the *Arians* and *Donatists*, but being settled in the Empire, he declares himself an *Arian*, and consequently an Enemy to the *Orthodox* Christians, whereby the *Arians* and *Donatists* rage every where against them; *Donatus* himself, and many of his Faction joyned themselves with the *Arian* Hereticks (although they had formerly declared their abhorrence of them) in hope of obtaining the greater power against

Anno 349.

* *De Spiritu Sancto*,
l. 3. c. 11.

the Catholicks by the Emperor's favour. And to this end, *Donatus* wrote a Book, *de Spiritu Sancto*, as *St. Hierome* hath observed, agreeable to the *Arian* Doctrine. And others of the Faction joyned with the *Macedonians*, and as *St. Ambrose* * says, blotted out of their Books those words of *St. John*, *God is a Spirit*. *Maximus* Bishop of *Neapolis*, was deprived of his dignity and function, for not complying with the *Arians*, who placed one *Zosimus* in his See, *Maximus* keeps to his charge and function, until they ejected him by force, and then he denounceth an *Anathema* against the Intruder, whereof the Intruder taking no notice, applied himself to the discharge of his new Office, and endeavouring to speak unto the People, his Tongue hung out of his Mouth, so that he could not speak, nor draw it in again, until he went out of the Church, and then he recovered the use of it; and this befell him a second, and a third time, whereupon he forsook his new Dignity. And now lived that famous *Ecebolius*, a Sophist of *Constantinople*, who while *Constantius* was a Catholick, professed himself so too, and with him turned *Arian*; and when *Julian* was Emperor, was an Idolater; and in the days of *Jovianus*, would become a Catholick again, and lay at the Church Doors, crying to the Faithful, *Mosalem insatuum pedibus concutate*, to trample on him as unsavory Salt, fit for nothing. But it is more worthy our observation, that within a short time that *Constantius* had declared
aga inst

against the Deity of the Son of God, the Empire was taken from him, and given to *Julian*.

This *Julian* the Apostate, who had from his Childhood been instructed in the Christian Religion, and (as *Socrates* says) had been a Reader in the Church at *Nicomedia*, being of an unstable wit, declares himself an open Enemy to the Christians, forbidding them to bear any Office in the Army, or to serve as common Souldiers: Then he excludes them from the Magistracy, and all publick Offices in the Commonwealth, and permits them not to teach Schools, or instruct Youth in any humane literature. He did not persecute the Christians so violently as *Dioclesian*, and others had done, but he contrived more mischievous ways to destroy Christianity it self, if it had been possible, than others did to destroy the Professors of it. For first, having shut up their Churches, and denyed them the nurture of their Children in Humane Learning, He sends for the Bishops of the several Factions, and enjoyns them to do nothing prejudicial to the peace of the Empire, and then tells them they might securely follow their own different Modes and Opinions, in the Worship and Faith of God; *Eo modo nomen Christi de terris perire putavit, si sacrilegas dissensiones liberum esse permisit*: And this was that which he designed, in shewing any favour to the *Arians*, and calling back the *Donatist* Bishops from Banishment; the total destruction of Christianity. And whereas the Catholicks lookt

4. 3. c. 13

St. Aug.
Epist. 166,

St. Augu-
stine.

on this indulgence of the Emperor's, as a design that would prove in time to be fatal to Christianity, for (*qua peior mors animæ quam libertas erroris,*) there is no Death so evil as the Licence of Error, which is the destruction of so many Souls: Yet the *Donatists* are loud in their thanks, and acclamations to *Julian*, for this liberty, as a most just and gracious Prince, when as he did only contrive and allow it, as a more easie and ready way to destroy the name and being of Christianity, which was almost lost already among the new denominations of *Arians*, *Photinians*, *Macedonians*, and *Donatists*. And that it might be no more had in remembrance, he imposeth the name of *Galilaans* upon them, as (*nomen criminis not religionis*) a name of criminal and wicked persons, not of a religious profession. And against the being of Christianity he encouraged the *Arians*, and others that denyed the Divinity of Christ, and ever favoured the several Sects, more than the Orthodox. Upon this the *Donatists* grew more proud and implacable towards the Catholicks, and to ingratiate themselves with the Emperor, pull down the Crofs which *Constantine* had set up in publick Places, to the honour of Christ, and set up the Image of *Julian* in its place: and by how much he was more severe against the Catholicks, by so much the more they applauded him. He silenced all the Men that were famous for their Learning, as *St. Basil* and *St. Gregory*, both of *Cappadocia*, *Eugenius Antiochenus*,

chennus, and *Apollinaris* the *Syrian*, who wrote
 for Christianity against the Heathen, which
 Book the Christian Bishops presented to the
 Emperor, desiring him to peruse it, which he
 did, and returned it to them again, saying,
Legi, intellexi, improbavi, to whom they re- *Epist. 166.*
 plied, *Si intellexisses nunquam improbasses.*
 In the Petition of *Petilian, Rogatianus, &c.*
 they stiled *Julian* the only Assertor of Pub-
 lick Liberty, from whom alone Justice and
 Clemency was to be hoped for, when-as *St.*
Augustine says, *nil injustius, nil perniciosius.*
 The Catholics wondred, as well they might,
 that the *Donatists*, and the several Hereticks
 should be so short sighted, as not to perceive
 that *Julian* was striking at the very root of
 Christianity, which the Catholics often mind- *Opt. l. 2.*
 ed them of, desiring them to consider, that by *p. 54.*
 the same Edict by which they were indulged,
 the Worship of Idols was enjoined, and the
 Devil and they were let loose together, to
 compass the Earth, and make Profelytes to
 their Party. *Tunc reddidit basilicas Donati-*
stis quando templa Demonis. *St. August. E-*
pistle 166. And when *Julian* was dead, they
 often wished their good Protector alive again.
 But as if *Julian* were too slow an Executioner
 of the true Religion, the *Donatists* make more
 speed, by destroying their Brethren with as
 much rage and cruelty, as their most barbarous
 Enemies; for having by *Rogarianus, Pon-*
tius, and *Cassianus*, three of their Bishops, ob-
 tained some priviledges, which were denied

Op. 55.

Idem.

See Baron.

to the Catholicks, they exercised all manner of cruelty against them. *Felix* and *Jannarius* two of their Bishops, came to the Castle of *Lemelle*, where the Catholicks had a Church, which being shut against them, they commanded the Rabble which followed them, to pull it down, who presently got up on the Roof, and uncovered it, and perceiving the Deacons defending the Altar, they threw down the Tiles, and stones, and slew two of the Deacons. In *Thapsa* a City of *Mauritania*, *Urbanus Formensis*, and *Felix Idicrensis*, with their bloody Companions, assaulted an Assembly of the Catholicks, while they were at their Devotions, and driving them out of the Church, slew and wounded a great part of them, without respect of Sex or Age. The Bread of the Consecrated Eucharist, they threw to their Dogs, which having eaten it, by the judgment of God grew mad, and fell upon their Masters, rent them in pieces. They sold the consecrated Chalices to Women for vile uses, or to the Heathen for the Service of their Gods, pulled down the Altars, and burnt the Books of the Holy Scriptures. *Felix* who was one of their Leaders deflowered a Virgin, that had a little before owned him as her Spiritual Father; and none of the Heathen committed greater outrages, than some of their Bishops. *Julian* by their instigation did shut up their Church-Doors, and some of his Officers, with a kind of admiration of the beauty and order, as well as the richness of the Ornaments and
 Utensils

Utenfils of their Church, took them away, as too good to be employed in the Service of the Son of *Mary*: but such profanation as the *Donatists* committed, those Heathen never learned or practised.

Theodoret
l. 3. c. 12.
Ecce qui-
buz vasis
ministratur
Maria fi-
lio.

This Storm was too violent to continue long; One of the Fathers thus comforted the Church, that *Julian* was *Nubecula cito transi-*
tura, and accordingly *Julian's* ambition instigated him to a War against the *Persians*, where he dyed in the midst of his own Army by the wound of an Arrow, shot from an unknown hand, which he conceiving to be sent from Heaven, pulled it out, saying, *Vicisti Galilae*, and so dyed. To him succeeded *Jovianus*, proclaimed Emperor by the Army, that was then in *Persia*, who desired them to name some other, because he being a Christian, could not lead an Army of such Principles, as *Julian* had formed. To whom the old Soldiers that had served *Constantine* and *Constantus*, answered, that they were Christians, and would have no other Emperor; But he dyed unhappily within seven Moneths after, and *Valentinian* succeeds him, a right good Christian, whom *Julian* had for that cause banished from his Court. He joyns his Brother *Valens* to himself in the Empire, who was an *Arian*. About the Fourth Year of this Emperor dyed the Great *Donatus*, and *Parmenian* (against whom *Optatus* wrote his Seven Books) succeeded him. It will not be impertinent to set down here a series of the Bishops during this

Ann. 364.

this Schisme, which is as followeth,

The Catholick Bishops.

Mensurius.
Cecilian.
Rufus.
Gratus.
Genetlius.
Aurelius.

The Donatists.

Majorinus.
Donatus à Casis
Nigris.
Donatus magnus
Parmenianus.
Primianus.

Gratus and *Parmenian* are the two Bishops that were in competition, Anno 368. Of what temper *Parmenian* was, *Optatus* his Contemporary, a Person greatly beloved, as well for his Piety as Learning, hath shewn at large. He wanted very little of the Pride of *Donatus*, and for Calumny and Cruelty nothing at all. In his days *Ticonius*, one of the most learned and sober of that Party, reading and weighing the Arguments of *Optatus* for the Catholick Church, was so far convinced, that he wrote in defence of it, confuting the Arguments of the *Donatists*: and asserting, that (*nullius hominis peccatum potest præscribere promissis Dei*) the wickedness of Man cannot make void the promises of God, concerning the extent of Christ's Church, for which he was condemned by a Synod of their Bishops, without any other Answer to his Arguments. Now the great confusion which was at *Carthage*, drove *St. Augustine* (who was yet a Heathen) to *Rome*, where he read Rhetorick, and Philosophy,

sophy, until at length by the Prayers of his
 Mother *Monica*, and his converse with Pious
 and Learned Men, especially Saint *Ambrose*,
 he was converted, and baptized by St. *Am-*
brose at *Millain*, and became *Malleus Dona-*
ristarum, a happy Instrument to destroy that
 Faction*. Which *Valentinian* seeks to do by
 good Laws and Edicts; divers of which are
 yet extant in the *Codex Justinianus*, as that
 against all Hereticks; *Nullus hereticis mini-*
steriorum locus, &c. That no Place be allow-
 ed to them that were condemned by the Coun-
 cils of the Church, to exercise their Ministry,
 and if any such command or allowance were
 fraudulently procured, it should be null; That
 the People should be restrained from such
 Meetings, and their Teachers banished from
 Towns and Cities. Another Law was made
 against Rebaptizing, that the Offender be de-
 prived of his Priesthood, *l. 2. Ne sanctum*
Baptisma iteretur. Another against Conven-
 ticles: *Conventicula illicita etiam extra Ec-*
clesiam in privatis adibus celebrari prohibemus
proscriptionis domus periculo imminente, si do-
minus ejus in eâ clericos nova ac tumultuosa
conventicula celebrantes suscepit. I shall
 name but one more made expressly against the
Manichees and *Donatists*, *Tit. de Hæreticis*.
 Which in *English* is to this effect: 'We do
 'deservedly prosecute the *Manichees* and *Do-*
 'natists with severity. Commanding that
 'they enjoy not the Priviledges common to
 'others, because they offending against Reli-
 'gion,

* At his
 Baptisme
Te Deum
 was first
 sung by
 S. *Ambrose*
 and St *Au-*
gustine Al-
 ternatim.

'glon, are injurious to all. We therefore pro-
 'nounce them uncapable of enjoying any pub-
 'lick bounty, or liberality, of making their
 'Wills, and bestowing their Goods; neither
 'shall their Sons inherit their Estates, unless
 'they depart from their Fathers wickedness;
 'and if their Servants forsake such Masters, they
 'have communion with the Catholick Church;
 'they shall be indemnified. These Laws are
 severe indeed, and by Men that had made con-
 science of any Law, would have been thought
 obligatory: but to them that had broken the
 great Law of Charity, they were as cords of
 Sand. The *Donatists* were now become so
 numerous, and had so wasted the Catholicks
 that they began to quarrel with each other,
 and in one Tumult, *Donatus* Bishop of *Bagin*
 is thrown into a Well, in another *Marculus*
 is cast from a high Rock. *Salvius* an Ag-
 Bishop of *Membresa* hath Dogs hung about
 his Neck, while the mad People with obscene
 Songs dance round about him; a cruelty, saith
St. Augustine, beyond that of the *Hetrurian*
 Tyrant, who joyned only Humane Bodies to-
 gether. This is true, however strange it may
 be; *St. Augustine* tells them, the City is night
 and there they may be fully informed of it.
 Nor will it seem strange, if it be considered,
 how the mad *Circumcellians* cast away their
 own lives, of whom I shall at present give
 you only this short account, That they lived in
 madness, they dyed in desperation, they lay
 stinking and noysome after Death, and yet
 there

there were a madder sort left behind, that worshipped these abominable Wretches, as if they had been Martyrs. Of these barbarities the poor Catholicks desired their Governors to acquaint the Emperor, and it was in a fit season, for both *Valentinian*, and *Valens* the *Arian*, who gave them some countenance, being dead, *Gratianus* and *Valentinianus* the younger succeeded, and chose *Theodosius Magnus* to govern the Empire, who though he used great power and prudence to suppress these *Donatists*, and hated them perfectly, as by the Laws made while he was Consul, and his actions during his Government may appear, yet could he not effect it. How much he honoured the Church, may appear by submitting himself to the censure of St. *Ambrose*, having by the instigation of some of his Courtiers given order to destroy some of the Inhabitants of *Thessalonica* in cold blood: But the wisdom of God intended to effect this by other means. St. *Augustine* having buried his Mother *Monica*, resolves to return to *Carthage*, to assist in making up the breaches of that Church, where the first Book which he wrote against the *Donatists*, was that which he calls his Psalm, containing an Epitome of their Opinions and Practices; and being afterward made Bishop of *Hippo* in *Africa*, he bestowed much of his time and labour, as well in private and publick disputations, as in many learned Writings yet extant. But still the Faction thrived, and was delivered of another Sect;

Anno 389

For

St. Aug.
Epist. 162.

For *Parmenian* being dead, the *Donatists* met at *Bagai* to choose a Successor in the Church of *Carthage*, and there were two Competitors, *Primianus* and *Maximianus* : *Primianus* was the most zealous, but *Maximianus* being of the alliance of *Donatus*, and having some good Women to assist him, hoped to succeed ; but as St. *Augustine* observes, for any real worth or ability, other than to head a Faction, *Maximianus* might have been *Minimianus*, and *Primianus* *Postreminianus*. The Assembly is much divided, the greater part vote for *Primianus*, to the discontent of *Maximianus* and his Party, who thenceforward deny to hold communion with their Brethren, and gather distinct Congregations ; and in a short time, he and his Party had procured Forty Three Bishops to side with him, and these condemned *Primianus*, and owned *Maximianus* for their Bishop. And St. *Augustine*, on *Psal.* 36. tells us of another Meeting at *Cubursuffita*, where were an Hundred Bishops that confirmed *Maximianus* ; But still *Primianus* hath the greater Number, for shortly after, at another Synod at *Bagai*, we read of Three Hundred Bishops that rescinded all that the *Maximinianists* had decreed, and establish *Primianus* : of this St. *Augustine* gives a full account, *Contra Cresconium* ; and there observes, that without scruple they could urge and execute the Imperial Laws (against such as divided their Church) upon the *Maximinianists*, but thought it a Persecution, when the

the Catholicks proceeded by the same Laws against them; they compared the *Maximianists* to *Core*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, for dividing from them, yet would justify their Separation from the Catholick Church. Such is usually the judgment of God upon Schismatics, as well as Hereticks, to make themselves condemned, returning their own actions, arguments, and censures against others upon themselves:

Qua tanta Dementia est, pacem in ipsa pace relinquere, & eam in dissensione velle retinere, as *St. Augustine* most ingeniously applies it; What greater madness can there be, than to forsake the peace of the Universal Church, and seek it in the midst of dissention? For it seldome hapneth that all who separate, are of one mind among themselves, but there is a superfetation, some are ready to set up for themselves as soon as there is another opportunity. It was so with the *Maximianists*, who went off from the *Primitivians*, pregnant, and were shortly delivered of Twins, the *Rogations* and *Claudianists*, which as Vipers, endeavoured to eat out the bowels of their Parents. And now we are come to a Scene so full of cruelty and blood-shed, that you will suppose it to be the last; But, *Nec dum finitus Orestes*, this Tragedy is not yet at an end.

Arcadius and *Honorius* succeed their Father *Theodosius*, and at their entrance on their Em-

G

pire,

St. Augustine confuted the *Donatists* by their Arguments against the *Maximianists*. *Hoc eorum factum multum valuit ut eorum ora penitus clauderentur. S. Aug. Epist. 50.*

Contra Peccat. l. 2.

pire, make divers, as strict Laws against the Hereticks in general, and particularly against the *Donatists*, as the wisdom of Man could contrive: but the more they were restrained, the more violently they acted. The Churches generally enjoyed a calm, the fury of the *Arians* and other Hereticks was spent, only *Africa* is pestered with new Monsters, of whom the Catholics send their complaints to the Emperors, That their Bishops could not appear in public without affronts, nor travel for fear of such as lay in wait to destroy them; They burned the Bishops Houses, destroyed the Churches, slew their priests, particularly *Reftitutum*, and *Innocentium*, having first digged out one of his Eyes, and cut off his Fingers. *St. Augustine* hardly escaped them, for having been abroad (as his custome was) to visit and comfort his Brethren, they had provided some of their *Circumcellians* to lay in Ambush, in the way by which he was to return, but by God's providence, his Guide conducted him home another way. But he could not escape the Sword of their Tongues, for they rail at him as a Deceiver, and Murderer of Souls, and (*dicebant & tractabant*) they taught and preached publicly, that it was not only as lawful to kill him, as to kill a Wolf, that did destroy the Flock, but also that whoever slew him, should have all their sins undoubtedly pardoned, and be honoured as Martyrs. In the Year 401. *Aurelius* Primate of *Africa*, assembles a Council at *Carthage*, for

*St. Hier. to
St. Aug. E-
pist. 25.
quos gladio
nequeunt
voto inter-
ficiunt.*

for conversion of the *Donatists*; and supplying the Catholick Churches with Ministers, which were much destroyed. To this they were encouraged by *Anastasio* Bishop of *Rome*, and by his perswasion they offered, that whoever of the *Donatists* would return to the Church, should still enjoy their Bishopricks and Dignities. But their courtesie was as little regarded, as their authority; onely they prevailed with the Emperors, to send relief to the poor Catholicks, who suffered no less than if they had lived under Heathen Persecutors. The Decretals of *Anastasio* made about this time, against the *Donatists*, are still on Record. At *Belleva* also was a Council assembled against them, where St. *Augustine* being present, describes their accursed practices, and gives an instance in a young Man, who had been admonished by the Bishop for beating his Mother; The young Man thereupon threatneth his Mother, that he would become a *Donatist*, and then would slay her, and so he did. For to them he flies, and is rebaptized, and in white Garments, as a *Circumcellion*, he goes and sheds his Mother's blood; And from this instance, St. *Augustine* draws this conclusion, That he who durst not strike his Mother, while he was of the Catholick Church, slew her without punishment; when he became a *Donatist*. *Constantine* the Primate, summons a General Council of all the Bishops of *Africa*; and sends express Messages to the *Donatists*, that they would be present at that Council, to treat of

Epist. 168.

the Union of the Church, where he promised a full and calm disquisition of their arguments, and pressed them to consider the great confusions, which that (*Veternus error*, as he calls it) old error of theirs had occasioned. *Possidius* is employed to deliver this Message to *Crispinus* a *Donatist* Bishop, which having heard, He replieth, (*Patriarchali Sermone Definio, Recedant à me impii, vias eorum nolo*) in a Patriarchal stile, Depart from me ye wicked, I desire not the knowledge of your ways; and a few days after *Possidius* was pursued as he was travelling, by a Presbyter, that was also called *Crispinus*, and fled into a Cottage to hide himself, but *Crispine* with his Armed Company, broke open the Doors, and having drawn him down from an upper Room, would certainly have slain him, had not the people that were present intreated for him, or rather had they not threatned to prosecute the Murtherers. *St. Augustine* having heard among the People, how their Bishops and Presbyters did often wish that they might meet and confer with the Catholicks, for the vindication of their practices, offers himself to discourse privately, or publickly, with any of them. Particularly he invited *Procidianus*, who pretended a great desire of it, but refused when it was offered. In the Year 404. is another Council at *Carthage*, against the *Donatists*, from which Council they send *Theodosius* and *Evodius* two Bishops to *Honorius* the Emperor, to desire his protection of that part of

St. Aug.
Epist. 166.

Ep. 147.

of the Church, and the due execution of the Laws that were made in that behalf, which if well observed, would redress all their grievances. They name especially the Edicts, whereby they were disabled to take or receive any publick dignities, or profits belonging to the Church, or to make their Wills and dispose of Estates: and another Law for punishing those that should schismatically or heretically ordain, or be ordained. *Honorius* was grieved at the complaints of these Bishops, and professed, that the confusion and ruine of the Church did grieve him more than the loss of *Rome*, which the *Goths* and *Vandals* had about that time taken from him; and *St. Ambrose* observes of him (*fecit quod Pater fecit in Causâ Donati*) that he acted for the Church in the case of *Donatus*, as *Theodosius* his Father had done, who was solicitous for the welfare of the Church, as of his own Soul. Accordingly he gives order to *Adrian*, his Vicegerent in *Africa*, to Vindicate the integrity of the Catholics, and punish the perfidiousness of the *Donatists*, that did rent asunder the Members of the Church, being as he describes them subtle to seduce, cruel to destroy, provoking the Sons of Peace to War. Moreover, he forbade all that were Enemies to the Peace of the Church, to come within his Palace. And upon the Petition of a young Nobleman, whose Sister being seduced by the *Donatists*, divided a considerable Estate among them, without any Legacy to her Brother; it was ordered,

Opt. p. 650.

St. Aug.
Epist. 50.

that the Estate should wholly descend to him, according to a former Edict. It would offend the Readers patience, to repeat all the Constitutions of the Emperors, and Decrees of Councils, against these lawless Persons, who could break them with less trouble, than the Emperors could make them; Witness the Rainous Murder of one *Maximianus* Bishop of *Vaga*, who having by sentence of Law recovered his Church, which the *Donatists* had by force taken from him, came to demand it of them, and to take possession; But the *Donatists* fell on him with so great fury, and wounded him so desperately, that he was left for dead, through loss of blood; and when the Catholics came to carry him away, they drove them off, and carrying him into a Tower, cast him down thence, but it being to great height, and falling on soft Turfs, he was afterward conveyed away, and recovered by his Brethren, and together with other Sufferers, petitioned the Emperor to pity those persecuted Churches, shewing their wounds, and relating the Cruelty of the *Donatists*, with which the Emperor was so affected, that he made Capital Laws against several exorbitances of the *Donatists*, and enjoined a strict execution of them; which produced so good effect, that *St. Augustine* says thus of them. It was my Opinion heretofore, that none ought to be compelled to the Unity of Christ, but to be persuaded by Reason and Argument, lest we should have dissembling Catholics,

Epist. 48.

tholicks, instead of open Hereticks; but this Opinion was overthrown, not by the contradiction of words, but by the demonstration of Examples, for this my City (saith he, that is *Hippo*, whereof he was Bishop) which was wholly seduced by the *Donatists*, by the Laws of the Emperor, which punished some Offenders among them with Death, is so generally united in the Catholick Unity, as if there had been no Schisme among them; for being first awed by fear, they are afterward convinced by truth, which they could not hear among their false Teachers, and are by degrees made to understand, and abhor their wicked practices, &c.

And to silence their Objections, that they were persecuted and punished beyond their deserts, He willeth them to consider, first, what they had done, and then what they did suffer, which was far less than their demerits. *Leges puniendo non possunt, quod isti sciendo potuerunt*: The Laws never inflicted such punishments on the worst Malefactors, as They did on their innocent Brethren. How great mischiefs did some of your mad Clerks and *Circumcellians* act among us? our Churches were burnt, our Books cast into the flames, Men were taken out of their Houses, which they also burnt down, having first blundered them, and then tortured their Masters, by maiming them in their Limbs, and putting out their Eyes, saith St. *Augustine*, *contra Donat. post Collat.* These things were not done by the rabble of *Circumcellians* alone, but by their Clergy; *Qui duces*

Epist. 170.

eorum semper fuerunt, who were still their Leaders. What Master was there that did not stand in fear of his Servant, if he came to the
Epist. 166. *Donatists*, to make his complaint, and desire their Patronage? They constrain the Masters to deliver up their Covenants, and let them go free; they force from the Creditors their Bonds and Obligations, and deliver them up to the Debtors, and if this were not done at their command, they assembled Multitudes with Arms, and Fire, threatening present Death, and burning of their Houses, *St. August. Epistle 50.* *Prætextatus* a Bishop of the *Donatists* dying, they ordained *Rogatus* in his place, being a Person of good Learning and Reputation, who afterward declared himself to be of the Catholick Communion, whereupon they so persecuted him, that at length the *Circumcellians* pluckt out his Tongue, and cut off his Hand, as *St. August. de Gestis cum Emerito.* No good Catholick while he lived among them, could be secure of any possession, nor of life it self, for as *St. August. Qui sibi nequam cui bonus?* They that by Fire, Water, and Precipices, desperately destroyed their own Lives, had an easie command and power over the Lives of others; and yet these Men, would first cry out of Persecution. *Nos ab armatis vestris fustibus & ferro concidimur, & vos dicitis pati persecutionem. St. August. Epist. 166.* gives many instances of their cruel usage of such Bishops and Presbyters, as were reconciled to the Catholicks. *Marcus* a Priest,

of his own proper motion declared himself to be a Catholick, and shortly after some of the *Donatists* met him, and would have destroyed him, had not some that by accident came by, rescued him out of their hands. *Restitutus* another Convert, was drawn out of his House, beaten, and dragged through the Mud, and long kept a Prisoner, until *Proculianus* obtained his deliverance. *Marcianus* had his House beset, and he escaping, they beat his Subdeacon, so as they left him for Dead. They made publick Proclamations, that whoever should communicate with *Maximianus*, his House should be burnt; and when *Possidius* was sent to *Fugilia*, to visit and instruct some People there, the *Donatists* laid ambushes for him, which he having escaped, they pursued him to a House, where he hid himself, and set it on Fire three times, intending to have burnt him alive, had not the Countrey Men quenched the Fire: and this was done by some of the *Donatist* Clergy, who being condemned for this out-rage, in a Mult of Ten Pounds of Gold, the good Bishop *Possidius* interceded for them, and got the Penalty to be remitted.

So desperately were they bent to ruine the Catholicks, that sometimes they joyned with the *Arians* and *Macedonians*, and sometimes with the *Pagans* and with the *Jews* (whom the Fathers of that Age called *Cælicolas*) to persecute the Catholicks. Who meet again in another Council at *Carthage*, and decree to
send

send Legates to *Honorius*, to complain of the great slaughters made upon them by the *Donatists*, who had slain many eminent persons, namely *Severus*, *Macarius*, *Evdian*, *Thyrsus*, and *Victor*, who were Bishops, besides great Numbers of other persons. They appeal therefore *Restitutus* and *Florentinus*, to inform the Emperor of their continued cruelty; and *St. Augustine* sends Letters to *Olympius*, a Man of great account with the Emperor, desiring that some Assistance might be speedily sent to them, upon which the Emperor sent a Rescript, commanding that such *Jews* and Hereticks as molested the Church, should be punished with Banishment, or loss of Life. The device of the *Donatists* may be here sensibly mentioned, which is this: *Honorius* the Emperor, and *Arcadius* his Brother were Persons of so much piety and clemency, that they could not immediately reproach them, as Persecutors; and therefore they laid the blame on all the severe Laws, that were enacted against them, upon the evil Counsellors, that were near them; These are not the Laws (say they) of the Sons of *Theodosius*, but of *Stilicho*: yet when *Stilicho* was dead, the same Laws were vigorously executed against them.

St. August.
Epist. 129.

It hapned in the Year 410. that *Attila* a Tyrant, had invaded the Emperor's Dominions, and promised protection to all such as would submit to him, wherupon many of the *Donatists* fled to him, insomuch that the Emperor was inforced to grant a General Toleration,

ration, that every one should worship God in what manner he pleased, to prevent that general revolt to *Arius*, which was feared. Upon this the *Donatists* grew more insolent than ever; so that they permitted not the Catholick Doctors, to speak against their Errors, nor to Preach the truth: They dragged *Restitutus*, a Presbyter, through a Chancel of mud, and after twelve days torments slew him: They put out the Eyes of others, and poured in Lime and Vinegar into the holes; and with Fire and Sword terrified all the Churches of *Africa*. To divert this fury the Catholicks meet again at *Carthage*, and send four Bishops to the Emperor, to acquaint him of the Cruelties that had been committed, upon his Edict for Toleration, which he recalls by his Rescript in these words, *Haec circa Catholicam fidem vel olim ordinavit Antiquitas, vel Patrum nostrorum auctoritas religiosa confisuit, vel nostra Serenitas roboravit; novellâ substitutione remota, integra & inviolata custodire precipimus*: That whatever Laws had been established by himself, or his Predecessors, concerning the Catholick Faith, should be held firm and inviolated. By the four Bishops sent from this Council, to the Emperor, at the motion of St. *Augustine*, who complained, that in the Regions belonging to *Hippo*, where the *Barbarians* had not come, the robberies and violence of the *Donatist* Clergy, and their *Circumcellions*, the Churches were made more desolate, than under the power of the *Barbari-*

Possidonius
in *vita*
Aug. &
Contra
Cresc. l. 2.
& *Epist.*
166.

Codex de
Rel. l. 3.
& *de Ha-*
ret. 51.

Pridie Id.
Octob. 413.

ans; It was earnestly petitioned, that the *Donatists* might be compelled to a publick conference with the *Catholicks*, all other endeavours for Union being frustrated. This *Honorius* willingly grants, and lest the *Donatists* should refuse this Christian means, or commit any act of violence against the *Catholicks*, he sent *Marcellinus* his Principal Notary (or Secretary) to be a Moderator between them, and to take cognizance of the proceedings: and lest he should meet with the like affronts, as *Paulus* and *Macarius* did, when they were sent by *Constance*, upon the like occasion; He commanded a sufficient Army to attend him, which all the *Catholicks*, fearing the attempts of the *Circumcellians*, justly desired. The day appointed for this conference being at hand, the *Donatist* Bishops being as they reported 279, enter the City with great Pomp and Numbers, so that they drew all the City to be Spectators, and to admire their equipage. And though many of them lived on the benevolence of their Faction, being rendered incapable by the Imperial Laws of Ecclesiastical Dignities and Possessions, or upon that which they had wrested from the *Catholicks* in Licentious times; The *Catholicks* were far inferior to them, as well in Riches, as in Ostentation. The *Catholicks* were in Number 286, many of their Party had been slain, and many were afraid to Travel, because of the *Circumcellians*, however their Number much exceeded the *Donatists*, for when St. *Augustine* viewed the Subscript-

ons of that Party, to satisfy himself of their number, he found that the noise of 279. was shrunk into 159. The Meeting was appointed to be at the *Gargilian Baths*, in a spacious Room fitted for that purpose. Before the Catholics enter, they agreed mutually by solemn promise, That if the *Donatists* could evince, that the Marks of the true Church belonged to their Party, they would not desire to retain their Episcopal Dignities, but leave them to the *Donatists* to be disposed of, (*bono pacis*) for the peace of the Church: And if it should appear, that they were in the Communion of the Catholic Church, they would notwithstanding admit of the *Donatists* as their Brethren and Colleagues, upon their conformity, to enjoy their several Dignities; and wherever there was a competition for the present, between a Catholic and a *Donatist*, for any Ecclesiastical Preferment, there should be a present provision made for the *Donatist*, and if the Catholic dyed before him, he should have an *ἀλληλοκληρονομία*, (as the Civilians called it) a right of succession, wherein they manifested their real charity, who as they generally professed, (*Parati erant Episcopatum pro Christi unitate deponere & non perdere sed Deo commendare*) were prepared to lay down their Bishopricks for the Christian Unity, and not think them lost, but intrusted with God. *Delib. p. 220.*

*Aug. de
Gestis cum
Emerito.*

This charity was not answered with the like from the *Donatists*, who as soon as they had been

August.
 post Col-
 lat. Carth.

been saluted by the Catholicks as Brethren. *Marcellinus* willeth them all to sit down. Accordingly the Catholicks took their Seats, but the *Donatists* refused, and *Primianns* the Titular Bishop of *Carthage* replied, *Indignum est nos sibi Martyrum & progenies Traditionem in unum conveniant*: It is an indignity to the Sons of the Martyrs, to sit with the offsprings of Traditors; Another said, *Odi Ecclesiam malignantium, & cum impiis non sedebo*. To which the Catholicks answered, that they were met to enquire of the truth, and not of Men's persons, and desired that (*nec causa causa, nec persona persona prajudicet*) former causes and persons might not create a prejudice to the present. At length they condescend to take their Seats, and then it was proposed by *Marcellinus*, that for Orders sake, there should be a Select number appointed by both Parties, to discourse *pro & con*. This after some reluctancy by the *Donatists*, was yielded to, and the Number on each side were to be Seven, whereof *St. Augustine* was to be Prolocutor for the Catholicks, and *Petilian* (who had been a Civilian) for the *Donatists*: There were also four Notaries appointed by each Party, to write down the several Arguments and Answers, which being printed at large, and joyned with the Works of *Optatus*, I shall refer the Reader to them, and onely give a brief account of what is pertinent to the present case of the Schisme. *Marcellinus* having produced the Emperor's Rescript for the Treaty,

ry, promiseth them all candor, freedom, and protection during the Conference, and intreats them to direct their discourse to the causes and grounds of the difference, which was between them. But the *Donatists*, who as *St. Augustine* observes, (*hoc unum agebant ut nil ageretur*), make use of all possible cavils, and subterfuges, as if the chief business that they had to do, were to take care that nothing might be done, and to return with as much Pride and Pomp as they came. First therefore they object, that the time appointed was elapsed; then, that there was no certain Date to the Imperial Edict, because the Names of the Consuls were not inserted. These being answered, they desire to know who procured the Edict for that Meeting, that the Names of the Legates, and their Petition might be read; tacitely reflecting upon the Catholicks, (saith *St. Augustine*) for referring the cause of the Church to the Emperor. To this it was answered, that the Catholicks (who confessed that they procured it) had done no other, than they themselves appealing from the Sentence of *Miltiades* in the case of *Cecilian*, unto the Emperor *Constantine*. Then they begin to reflect on the Persons of *Felix* and *Cecilian*, and having almost tired *Marcellinus*, to keep them from impertinencies, repetitions and evasions, he brought them at last to the merits of the cause. But, *Quid dignum tanto?* I know not any thing that may raise greater admiration, than to consider what trifles, and apples

*Contra E-
meritum.*

apples of contention, like the forbidden fruit, engaged all *Africa* in such desperate feuds, and made it an *Aceldama*, for blood-shed and slaughters, and imployed so many Emperors, Bishops and Councils, for more than an Hundred Years together, without any considerable effect. For when the differences and causes of that confusion came to be considered in the Conference, we do not hear that the *Donatists* could plead in justification of their Schisme, that their supposed Enemies did deny God, or Christ, or the Resurrection, or did actually persecute them, or that they did with pride and contempt, deny to admit them to their Communion; nor did the Catholics charge the *Donatists* with Apostasie from the Faith, and denying Fundamentals of Christianity. We do not hear them urging, as they might, their rebaptizing and joyning with the *Macedonians*, or *Jews*, and *Pagans*, against those whom they knew to be Orthodox Bishops. They all professed an agreement in all such necessary points of Faith, that it is strange, how they could differ in any thing; And yet the *Donatists* persecuted the Catholics so cruelly, as if they had not been agreed in any principle of Christianity. *Marcellinus* having heard the whole Conference, declared against the *Donatists*, and charged the inferior Officers speedily to execute the Imperial Laws, in seizing their Churches for the Catholics, scattering their Conventicles, and confiscating their Meering places; which Edict the Empe-

rors confirm, and cause to be entred among
 the publick Acts. That which was pretended
 by the *Donatists*, as the ground of the Schism,
 was, that *Cecilian*, who was Bishop of Car-
 thage, for almost 100. Years before, was a
 Traditor; that he, and other Catholick Bi-
 shops had admitted lapsed Persons into their
 Communion, whereby all their Churches were
 defiled, and ought not to be communicated
 with: *Quia lapsi vel haeretici qui resipiscerent
 admittēbantur.* Prosper de promiss. & pradi-
 So I find the Question expressely stated, by con-
 sent of both Parties: *Utrum Ecclesia permix-
 tos malos usq; ad finem habitura, pradi-
 tu omnino omnes bonos sanctos atq; immaculatos
 ab hoc seculo usq; in finem habitura sit.* Whe-
 ther the Church of God (according to the
 predictions concerning it) were to consist of
 a mixture of good and evil, or only of such
 as were holy and undefiled. The Catholicks
 maintained the former from the predictions
 of the Prophets, concerning the Universal ex-
 tent of Christ's Kingdome, from many Pa-
 rables of our Saviour concerning his Church,
 from the Commission he gave to his Apostles,
 to Disciple all Nations, from the event, which
 succeeded upon the Apostles preaching, the
 Conversion of all Nations, from many Argu-
 ments used by St. Cyprian against the *Novati-
 ans*; and lastly from their own practice, in
 readmitting the *Maximianists*, who had re-
 volted from the *Donatists*, and used another
 Baptism. And most unreasonable it was to

St. Aug.
Epist 50.

Perfectio
promissa
non data.

think that the wickedness of one Man should
ruine the whole Church of Christ. *Nec
peccavit Cecilianus, hereditatem suam perdidit
Christus.* Against this, the *Donatists* urge
that the same Prophets foretold, that the
Church of Christ should be Holy, as well
Catholick, that *Hierusalem* was to be a Holy
City, the Spouse of Christ must be without
spot, a chaste and undefiled Virgin. To which
St. *Augustine* replies, that these things ought
to be endeavoured in the Church in the
World, but would never be effected, until
Christ do come in the end of the World, when
he will thoroughly cleanse his Flowr, & gather
the Wheat into his Garner, and burn up the
chaff with unquenchable Fire.

Then the *Donatists* begin to recriminate
Mensurinus and *Cecilian*, that had been long
dead. To which it is presently answered, That
they were absolved by the Emperor, and Councils
of the Church then in being, as did appear
by most ancient Records, which were ready
to be produced, and thereby also *Donatus*
stood condemned. But (saith St. *Augustine*)
if those Bishops had been wicked, the Church
of God cannot be judged to have perished
with them. Whether they were good, or bad,
they were our Brethren : if we knew them
to be evil, we would joyn with you to condemn
them, but not to desert the Church of God
because of them. If *Cecilian* were good and
innocent, he hath the reward of his innocence,
and I rejoyce at it ; but I never placed my
hope

hope and faith in his innocence : if he had been
 evil, yet the Church thought fit to continue in
 his Communion, and so do we. *Melius est
 per patientiam ferre malos quam per calumni-
 am relinquere bonos, St. Aug. in Colloq. Carthag.*
 The several Arguments and Answers are too
 large to be here set down. Upon the whole,
Marcellinus adjudged, that the *Donatists* ar-
 guments and pretences were invalid, their
 Schisme unjust, their practices cruel; and
 therefore he willed them to return to the
 Communion of the Church, and live in peace
 and unity; otherwise he would provide, that
 the Imperial Laws should be executed upon
 them. In the mean time, he prevailed with
 them to subscribe the Records of the Confe-
 rence, which had been faithfully taken, by the
 Notaries on both sides, and so dismissed them.
 After the Publication of this Conference, and
 of the Emperor's reinforcing the Laws for
 peturiary Mults, and Banishment against
 them; some Thousands of the common Peo-
 ple deserted them, and returned to the Ca-
 tholick Church, and to their honest and law-
 ful callings, which they had long omitted, as
 generally the *Circumcellians* did: But the *Do-
 natist* Bishops and Presbyters were for the
 most part obstinate, and endeavoured to conti-
 nue the Schisme. There were many imprison-
 ed, and condemned for Murther, and Robbe-
 ries, committed in that Tumult, wherein *Ra-
 stinus* and *Innocentius* were slain; for these
St. Augustine mediates, and obtains Pardon.

But the *Donatist* Bishops return in great discontent, and report among the People, that they were not permitted to speak with the liberty and freedom, as they ought: And *Petilian*, who went off from the Conference before it was ended, having lost his Voice by raving and passion, pretended afterward, that he was dissatisfied with the partiality of *Marcellinus*; and therefore he perswaded the rest to Appeal from his Sentence, pretending that they had been kept as Prisoners, and were not suffered to prosecute their Arguments; and that *Marcellinus* was corrupted, and pronounced the Sentence at Midnight, which was contrary to Law. And St. *Augustine* going afterward to *Mauritania*, was challenged by *Emeritus*, one of the *Donatist* Bishops, who undertook to defend the Conference, in a Personal disputation, which St. *Augustine* agreed to, and hath given us a particular account of it. But as St. *Augustine* saith, *Hoc proprium Donatistis eandem cantilenam canere*: It was their custome to inculcate the same Arguments again, which had been often confuted many Years before.

There being no reformation among the Leaders of the Faction, who continue several Tumults, Cruelties and Murthers: Thirty of their Bishops were condemned to be banished, who met together, and resolved rather to cast themselves over the Precipices, (as the practice of the *Circumcellians* was) and to dye Martyrs for the cause. And some did destroy them-

themselves in Wells, and by throwing themselves from the Rocks. In so much that *Dulcitius*, who was joyned with *Marcellinus* in the Government of *Africa*, advised with St. *Augustine*, what was most fit to be done with those obstinate Persons, that still seduced the People; and what counsel St. *Augustine* gave him, we read in the 61. Epistle: *Furiosus error paucorum non debuit tot populorum salutem impedire. Proculdubio melius est, ut quidam suis ignibus perirent, quam pariter semperternis ignibus Sacrilega dissensionis ardeant uniuersi.* That the error of a few distracted Persons, should not be permitted to involve all the People in confusion and ruine: and that without doubt, it was better, that such as were Incendiaries, should dye in the flames which they had kindled, than that all the People should still suffer in the fires of sacrilegious Dissention.

Thus I have given you a Summary of the History of these dangerous Persons, for full an Hundred Years, and might pursue it yet farther; but considering how troublesome and unsafe it may be to follow them too nigh, I shall desist, and only add some Reflections upon the Faction: And first,

Of their several Sects.

The *Luciferians*, as the most moderate, shall have precedency: These were so called from *Lucifer Calaritanus*, Bishop of *Sardinia*, who

in the *Nicene* Council was a zealous Defender of the Catholick Faith against the *Arians*, for which he was banished while they had the power : He is commended for it, by *Athanasius*, *Hilarion*, and *St. Hierome*. When the *Arians* were suppressed, he was recalled, and restored to his Bishoprick : but perceiving that many of the *Arians* were on very easie conditions admitted to the Catholick Communion, and made capable of Ecclesiastical Dignities, he was much dissatisfied, and denied to hold Communion with the Church, for being so charitable to those new Converts. He therefore lays the Foundation of his Schisme in *Sardinia*, where the Catholicks sollicit him, by all gentle and rational means, not to divide that Church whose Faith and unity he had so strenuously asserted ; but finding that he was not only resolutely obstinate, but indefatigably industrious to propagate the Schisme, the Catholicks thought fit to suspend him, and to dissipate his adherents. Whereupon he transports himself into *Africa*, whither great numbers of his perswasion follow him, and joyne themselves to the *Donatists*, but kept themselves as a distinct Faction, in this respect, that they did not rebaptize, as the *Donatists* generally did : but their Pride and contempt of the Catholicks, was in a short time equal to that of the *Donatists*. *St. Augustine* commends them for not renouncing their Baptism, but condemns them as much for cutting themselves off from the Catholick unity, and much

urgeth

urgeth that known Axiom, *Extra Ecclesiam non est salus*. St. *Ambrose* writing to his Brother *Siricus*, who espoused this Schisme, doth thus acquaint him with the danger of it: *Non est fides in Schismate; cum enim propter Ecclesiam passus est Christus, & Christi corpus sit Ecclesia: non videtur ab his Christo exhiberi fides, à quibus evacuatur ejus passio, & corpus distrabitur*. There is no true faith in Schism, for whereas Christ suffered for his Church, and that Church is his Body, it doth not appear, that true faith in Christ is in them, by whom his Passion is frustrated, and his Body divided: for Christ gave his Natural Body, for the preservation of his Mystical Body, the Church. Saint *Hierome* therefore comparing these *Donatists* with the *Novatians*, calls them both, *Non Ecclesiam Christi, sed Antichristi Synagoga*. These *Luciferians* stood as independent on the *Donatist* Congregations, or any of the other Factions, which were generally Anabaptistical: For they did not only Rebaptize the adult that came over to them, but refused to baptize Children, contrary to the practice of the Church, as appears by several discourses of St. *Augustine*. The most desperate Sect of all, were the *Circumcellians*, who were as so many Hectors, to fight for the *Donatists* on all occasions. These were the Zealots, which did abound in every faction, and pretended to higher dispensations, than their Brethren: for they believed, that they were inspired by God, to act and suffer extraordinary

Oratio de
obitu Sa-
turi.

things, which they were ready to attempt, as often as their Brethren, or their own lusts did prompt them thereunto. They met sometime in lesser, and sometime in greater Numbers, either as Robbers, to abuse and plunder all that were not of their own Perswasion: Slaves would rob their Masters, and Debtors would force their Creditors to deliver up their Obligations, and had the perfect Principles of *Levellers*, holding that none had right to any of their Possessions, but by partaking of the same Faith, and Profession with themselves. *Dominium fundatur in gratiâ*, was their Maxime. Or else they would meet in great Numbers well armed, and able to affront the chief Armies of the Emperor: And were often the Aggressors, provoking the *Roman* Souldiers to their own destruction. Thus they set upon *Paulus* and *Macarius*, who were sent with Presents to the Church of *Carthage*, from the Emperor *Constans*, who being assisted by the Proconsul, slew great Numbers of them. These were animated by their Leaders, who were generally *Donatist* Bishops, and called *Sanctorum Duces*, Captains of the Saints, and were animated by a Perswasion, that as many as suffered a violent Death, in defence of the Religion, were Martyrs: and accordingly, Altars were built to their Memorial, and Prayers offered up on those Altars. These *Circumcellians* had a Solemn initiation; for having devoted themselves to violent Deaths, (which they sometime voluntarily executed on themselves,

Optat. p.
146.

or

or at the command of their Brethren) their Neighbours and Relations gave them all possible respect and attendance, so that nothing was denied to them for their encouragement, that like so many fatted Beasts, they might be fit for the slaughter, rather than for a Sacrifice, which yet they were perswaded, that they were offering up to God in an acceptable manner. And as oft as they declared themselves ready for such desperate designs, their Brethren assembled, and prayed, and gave thanks for that supernatural and heroick spirit, wherewith they were inspired. Being thus in a most diabolical manner initiated, they would go forth sometime armed, sometimes unarmed, but resolved to provoke whomsoever they met with, railing, beating, and wounding them; sometime slaying others, or suffering themselves to be slain; and if this hapned not, they would cast themselves into deep Wells, or over high Precipices, to their certain destruction. Sometimes these *Circumcellians* assembled in great Numbers: *Sub Specie Martyrum rapientium latrocinantes*; playing the Robbers under pretence of Martyrs, as *Philaſter* observes: or else really attempting such acts of Hostility upon the Catholicks, their Houses, and Churches, or upon the Emperor's Souldiers, as caused the ruine of many Thousands. *Theodoret* tells us of a Company of these, who went abroad armed, and resolved to run this mad race, and meeting with a young Man unarmed, they were so humane, as not to destroy

*De fabulis
Hæreticor.
St. August.
Epist. 50.
ad Bonifac.*

destroy him with such unequal Numbers
 wherefore they all agreed, that they would
 deliver their Weapons to him, to wound and
 kill them, as he pleased; but threatned him also
 that if he did not execute them, they would
 miserably destroy him. The young Man seem
 to accept of the Conditions, only he tells them
 it was fit they should suffer themselves to be
 bound, not only that he might the better ful
 fill their desires, but also because he feared
 that when he had shed the blood of some of
 the Brethren, the survivors might, to preserve
 their own lives, take away his. They therefore
 do all agree to this, as a reasonable proposal,
 and forthwith submit themselves to be bound
 and fettered by the young Man, which ha
 ving done, with as much skill as he could, he
 first destroyed most of their Weapons, and
 then beats them soundly with the rest, and so
 departs, leaving them in their bonds, to be
 mocked and derided by the Passengers. This
 phrensie they thought a very high Enthusiasme,
 but *Malus Damon istam phrenesim immisit*; it
 was the Devil, (that was a Murtherer from the
 beginning) that inspired it. There were two
 mad Captains of these Martyrs of the Devil,
 that, as *Theodoret* says, were *instar Coryban
 tum; furentes & debacchantes*, like the Priests
 of *Bacchus*, drunk with fury, and led on great
 Numbers of the *Circumcellians*, to destroy as
 far as they went, all sorts of Men, Women,
 and Children, burning Houses and Churches,
 razing the Altars, and casting the Bibles into
 the

the Fire. With some such *Donatus* Bishop of *Bagai* assaulted *Macarius* and *Paulus*, who having the *Roman* Souldiers to guard them, slew great Numbers of them, whom being destroyed, he afterward disowned, and denied them Burial; and at last cast himself headlong, and perished in a Well. You have heard formerly of *Salvius*, a Bishop of the *Donatists*, who made another Faction among the *Membresitans*. He built a Church for his Party, and kept a separate Congregation for a while, but being abandoned by the *Donatists*, who condemned him in a Synod of theirs, was left to the fury of the mad *Circumcellians*, who, as you have heard, hung dead Dogs about his Neck, and danced about him, singing filthy Songs. This Saint *Augustine* says, they would excuse, because he was condemned by a full Synod of Bishops; to which he replies, That if he suffered justly, being condemned by their Bishops, they ought not to repine and murmur if they also suffered, who were so often condemned by the Bishops of the Catholick Church; and desireth them to consider, *Primum quid faciunt, deinde quid patiuntur*: First what they do against others, and then what they suffer from others. The History of the *Maximianists* you have had already; I shall now acquaint you with another Faction; which they had established at *Rome*, for when they perceived that they could not Answer the Arguments of the Catholicks, for the Universality of Christ's Church, and considered how

August.
l. 3. cont.
Parmen.

how numerous they were in all *Africa*, they sent their Emissaries abroad, and especially at *Rome* they had planted some of their Faction, so that at length they pretended, that no Party were more Catholick than themselves. *Victor* was settled as the Titular Bishop of *Rome*, in the days of *Constantine*: his Successors were, First, *Bonifacius Balatensis*: 2. *Encolpium*: 3. *Macrobinus*. 4. *Lucianus*. 5. *Clandianus*, who lived in the days of St. *Augustine*. But as both *Optatus* and St. *Augustine* lay, they could pretend no higher than *Victor*, whereas the Churches of *Hierusalem* and *Rome* could derive their Succession from the Apostles. But *Victor* was, *Filius sine Patre*, *Discipulus sine Magistro*, and *Episcopus sine populo*, A Son without a Father, a Disciple without a Master, and a Bishop without a Flock; nor could any of them produce their (*litteras formatas*) communicatory, or testimonial Letters, signifying their Communion with the Universal Church. Besides, St. *Augustine* tells them, that they lived at *Rome* more like Beasts of Prey, than like a Flock of Christ, and never met but in *Speluncis*, in Dens and Caves without the City, where they kept their Conventicles; and from their wandring from place to place, they were called *Montenses*, *Campitæ*, and *Rupitani*, as St. *Hierome* observes, not unlike our Quakers, *Quod inter homines. solet esse commune, salutationis officium auferunt, & ne Ave dicunt cuiquam nostrum, --- Nec monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti.* They would not salute any, nor bid

bid them *God Speed*. I shall name but one mad crew more, which were headed by *Optatus Gildoniensis*, a *Donatist* Bishop, who was called *Gildoniensis*, from one *Gildo*, a barbarous person, who invaded *Africa* with a great Army, and made havock of the Catholick Churches. To him this *Optatus*, with a great Number of the *Circumcellians*, joyned himself, and was first *Latrocinis infamis*, notorious for his Robberies. He snatched away the Wives from their Husbands, and Children from their Parents, causing many Abortions, and in his Cruelties, exceeded the very *Barbarians*; for they would kill them at once, but he would torment them many days together, that they might dye daily. So that Historians observe, he as much exceeded the *Circumcellians*, as they did exceed others in Cruelty.

Their Opinions.

It appears not, that they were accused of any false Doctrine for a long time, until they began to Rebaptize, upon an Opinion, that there were no true Ministers in the Catholick Church, and by consequence no true Sacraments. St. *Augustine* says, that in his time, they were, *Pares Doctrinæ & Ritibus*, agreed in the chief points of Doctrine, and in the Ecclesiastical Rites. And when *Optatus* wrote against *Parmenian*, They had generally One Creed, One Testament, and One Baptism (*viz.*) in the Name of the Blessed Trinity; they pray-
ed

Optat.
p. 72.

Opt. p. 72.
St. August.
cum Eme-
rito.

ed to One God, and used the Lord's Prayer alike. The Controversie was not, (*de Capite*, but *de Corpore*) concerning the Head, but the Body of the Church: But their Schism, which divided that Body, was sufficient to condemn them. *Extra Ecclesiam omnia possunt habere, præter salutem: possunt habere honorem, possunt habere Sacramentum, possunt cantare Hallelujah, possunt respondere Amen, possunt Evangelium tenere, possunt in nomine patris, & filii, & Spiritus sancti fidem habere, & prædicare; sed nusquam nisi in Ecclesiâ Catholica salutem possunt invenire.* He granted, they had the Scriptures, the Sacraments, the Prayers, and Preaching, materially the same as in the Church, but yet Salvation was not to be had but within the Church. All which is true, upon the grounds of St. Paul, as well as St. Augustine, because, without Charity, all these gifts and exercises do profit nothing, 1 Cor. 13. And therefore the Primitive Fathers did so passionately declaim against Schisme, not only, because it was the Occasion of greater confusion in the Church, than Heresies ordinarily were: but because it did equally endanger the Salvation of those that obstinately persisted in it, fitting them for any Error. *Dionysius Alexandrinus* wrote to *Novatian*, that he might rather do any thing, than rent the Church of God by Schismes, which (saith he) you ought to avoid, as much as Idolatry: for,

*Quisquis
ab Eccle-
sia Catholi-
ca separa-
tus est,*

quanquam laudabiliter se vivere existimet, hoc solo scelere quod à Christi unitate disjunctus est, non habebit vitam. Epist. 152.

when

when you flye from Idolatry, you consult on-
ly your own safety, but when you avoid
Schisme, you consult for the benefit of the U-
niversal Church. I shall therefore only men-
tion that great Error, in the chief Article of
Faith, wherein *Donatus* himself, and many of
his Followers, agreed with the *Arians*; as
divers of the * Ancients have recorded,
(viz.) That the Son was less than the Fa-
ther, and the Holy Ghost than the Son.
This being a Consequent of the Schisme;
(And it is usual for such as first desert the
Unity of the Church, to deny the faith and
verity therein professed, within a short time.)
It is my intent to speak chiefly of such Opini-
ons, as led them to it, or hardened them in it,
that others may see and avoid them. There
was a strict Canon in the Catholick Church,
forbidding Christians to hold any Communi-
on with such, as had in times of Persecution
turned Apostates, or *Traditors*, until they had
undergone the censure of the Church, and ma-
nifested their repentance; but as if this Ca-
non were not strict enough, the *Novatians*
first, and then the *Donatists*, made themselves
wiser than the Laws, and would not on any
termes admit such Persons; accounting, that
by Communion with them, the whole Congre-
gation was defiled; and such as had been of
the Clergy, they accounted of as lay Persons;
and the lay People, they esteemed of as Hea-
then: their Baptisme being frustrated, upon
this ground they withdrew from the Com-
munion

* Aug ad
quod vult
Deum.

munion of *Cecilian*, and other Catholick Bishops, pretending they had been *Traditors*, and that all the People adhering to them, were polluted; and that the Bishops and Clergy of the Church, could not lawfully rule, or teach the People, nor administer the Sacraments, the efficacy of all these Ordinances depending on the Holiness of the Minister; and that there were no such true Ministers, but among themselves. For this Opinion they urge *Acts* 19. 4. where *St. Paul* gives order, that they who had been baptized by *St. John*, should be baptized again in the Name of *Jesus*. Now if *John's* Baptism (say they) who was a Friend of the Bridegroom, was made void, much more ought the Baptism of those, that are Enemies and Apostates, to be so accounted. Against this Opinion, *Optatus* argueth thus, *Non dotes Ministri sed Trinitatem in Sacramento operari, cui concurret fides, & professio credentium*: The efficacy of the Sacrament depends not on the endowments of the Minister, but the grace of the blessed Trinity, in whom if they that are baptized, do believe, and make profession accordingly, their Baptisme will doubtless have its effect: for the believer is regenerate, not according to the abilities of the Minister, but the power of the Sacrament; *Nascitur Credens, non ex Ministri sterilitate, sed ex Sacramentorum fertilitate*. This is handsomely expressed by *Gregory Nazianzene* in the allusion of an Image, ingraven on two Seals, one of Iron, another of Gold, where

where the Image being the same, the Iron Seal makes the same impression, as that of Gold. But St. *Augustine* observes also, the difference between the Baptisme of St. *John*, and that of our Saviour *Christ*, which was in the Name of the Holy Trinity, and therefore both *Optatus*, and St. *Augustine* charge the *Donatists*, with no less sin than Blasphemy, when (as their practice was) they would exorcise those, whom they had rebaptized, with this form of words, (*Maledicite exi foras*) calling the whole Trinity, in whose Name they had been baptized, accursed. *Optatus* therefore further urged, *Opt. p. 86.*
Si datis alterum baptisma, date alteram fidem, date alterum Christum. It is superfluous to renew the Baptisme, where there is no alteration of the Faith. He adds, *Etsi hominum litigant mentes, non litigant Sacramenta*: The Sacrament is the same, although the judgment of those that administer it may differ. The Bishops of the Catholick Church did therefore admit of those that were baptized by the *Donatists*, although the *Donatists* would by no means approve of the Catholicks Baptisme. Which plainly argues, as well their excess of Pride, as their defect of Charity, both which St. *Augustine* observed in a *Donatist* Bishop that Preached in his City of *Hippo*, who used this comparison, that the Church of God was like *Noah's Ark*, it was pitched both within, and without; without, *Ne admitteret baptisma alienum*; and within, *Ne emitteret suum*; that it might not admit of those that were
I baptized

baptized by others, nor baptize any but such as were of their own perswasion. They urged the bare Authority of St. Cyprian for the rebaptizing, which as St. *Augustine* says, they despised, when he pleaded for the unity of the

*Cyprianus tolerandos
in Ecclesia malos, po-
tius quam propter eos
Ecclesiam deserendam
& exemplo confirma-
vit & praecepto admo-
nuit.*

Church, though his arguments were inforced with Scripture and Reason. And for their practices his sole Authority is alledged against the Authority and practice of the Church. St. Cyprian in an Epistle to *Julian* said, *Baptizandos esse in Ecclesia Catholica qui fuerunt in haeresi & schismate baptizati*; to which St. *Augustine* answereth, *Ego ejus autoritate non teneor, quod literas Cypriani, non ut canonicas habeo, sed ut ex canonicis considero, & quod in iis divinae Scripturarum auctoritati congruit, cum laque ejus accipio, quod autem non congruit cum ejus responso. (i.e.)* Though St. Cyprian holds that they who have been baptized by Hereticks or Schismaticks, ought to be rebaptized yet I am not bound by the authority of St. Cyprian, whose Epistles I do not esteem of as Canonical, but do judge of them by the Canon of Scripture, and what agreeth to the authority thereof, I receive to his praise, but what is contrary, I refuse with his peace. And whereas they had pleaded, that *Conscientiae sancte dantis attenditur quae ablati accipiuntur*, that the efficacy of the Sacrament flowed from the holiness of him that administred it: St. *Augustine* answered, that as to the visible Ministry,

nistry, both good and bad might baptize; but he to whom both the visible Baptisme, and the invisible Grace doth belong, doth invisibly baptize by both good and bad: *Contr. Cresc. nium, l. 2^{do}*. But it was a sad kind of Baptisme, which was practised by *Crispine the Donatist*, who with his Money hired some to be rebaptized by him, and having got a Number of poor People together, that would not be corrupted by his Money, he drove them by force into a River; and, *Uno terroris impetu, octoginta ferme animas rebaptizando submersit*, Drowning them in the Water, baptized them with their own blood, *St. August. l. 2. contra Petil.* The cruelties and mischiefs that have always followed Anabaptistical Principles, may cause all sober persons to abhor them, and therefore I shall not repeat any other arguments against this absurd practice, which as *St. Augustine* says, if it should be repeated, as often as it was administred by an unholy person, they need to do nothing else but rebaptize.

Another Opinion of the *Donatists*, was, that the Church of Christ ought to consist only of such as were Holy and Undeiled. Against this those two Fathers pleaded: That the glory of a prince, consisted much in the extent of his Dominions, and that God had promised to give unto his Son, *the Heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost ends of the Earth for his possession*; and therefore they were very sacrilegious to confine the Church of Christ to their own Conventicles; especially, seeing God

had according to his promise, planted the Christian Faith among all Nations; And that Christ had foretold, that as the Seed of the Faithful should be disseminated over the face of the whole Earth, so the Devil should sow his tares in the same Field. From this Opinion of being more pure than others, they proceeded a length to think themselves without sin, as the Novatians, or Cathari had boasted before them, and therefore they refused to joyn in the same Prayers with others, or to use that Petition of our Lord's Prayer, *Forgive us our trespases*, but as the Pharisee of old, stood by himself and prayed, *God I thank thee I am not as other*

Opt. p. 57. *men*: So would Donatus, *Non habeo quod agnoscat Deus*: I know nothing for which I may ask God for giveness, (said he.) To this St.

Augustine replyeth, *Quero utrum oratione Dominica; si non, unde aliam didicisti pro* Christophorus Fustolus in *Con-* *majoribus meritis tuis, excedentem merita Ap-* *dice Canon-* *stolorum? si sic, quomodo dicis Dimitte nobis deli-* *num Eccle-* *ta nostra, &c.* *Ista verba orationis aut te in* *sia Africa-*

na Canone 108. *hac habet: Quod in Oratione Dominica Sancti pro* *se dicunt, Dimitte nobis debita nostra; Placuit ut quicumque dixerit* *in Oratione Dominica Sanctos dicere Dimitte nobis debita nostra, non* *pro seipsis quia non est eis necessaria ista petitio, sed pro aliis, qui sunt in* *quo populo peccatores. Unde non dicere unumquemque Sanctorum Dimi-* *te debita mea sed debita nostra, ut hoc pro aliis potius quam pro se, iu-* *stus p.tere intelligatur, Anathema sit. Item placuit ut quicumque* *ipsa verba Dominice Orationis ubi dicimus Dimitte nobis debita nostra* *ita volunt a sanctis dici ut humiliter non veraciter hoc dicatur, Anath-* *ma sit. Quis enim ferat Orantem & non hominibus, sed ipsi Domini* *mentientem: qui labiis sibi dicit dimitti velle, & corde dicit quia sibi* *dimittantur debita non habere?* This Council was held at Carthage by Aurelius, and 214. Bishops. Honorio xii. & Theodosio Coss. kal. may.

permittunt

permittunt esse dei deprecatores, aut aperiunt
 esse peccatores: but when they left the use of
 that Prayer, he would no longer call them Bre-
 thren: *Tum desinent dici fratres nostri, cum de-* In Ps. 32.
serint dicere Pater noster. And now it is no
 wonder, if they despised the usual Prayers of
 the Church, and particularly that Form which
 was made in behalf of the Emperor. But they *Er. p. 550.*
 went a point beyond this, affirming, that they
 were so without sin, as to be the Justifiers of *Opt. p. 56.*
 others, who no sooner were admitted to their
 Congregations, but they presently assured
 them of the pardon of their sins, and if they
 suffered in their Society, of a Crown of Mar-
 tyrdome. And *Donatus* himself exceeded all
 these; he became a perfect *Enthusiast*, and pre-
 tended immediate revelations from God; par-
 ticularly, that an Angel had appeared to him,
 and assured him that his Faction should be e-
 stablished. And it was a frequent boast of the
Donatists against the Catholics; *Oravit Do-*
natus & respondit ei Deus à Cælo: When *Do-*
natus prays, God answereth him from Heaven;
 and therefore to him they went, as to an O-
 racle, when they would attempt any design,
 that he might seek God, and then give them
 direction. To this *Optatus* replies, *Ua quid* *Opt. p. 84.*
pulsatis Cælum cum hic in Evangelio habetis te-
stamentum: In vain do you expect new reve-
 lations from Heaven, having the compleat will
 and testament of Christ here on Earth. Agree-
 able to that of *Tertullian* before him, *Non opus*
est revelatione post Evangelium, &c. They *St. Aug. de*
unico Bap-
tis.

held it to be a pollution not only to communicate, but to converse with others. There wants nothing now, but a Spirit of Infallibility, to make him the great Antichrist, instead of which he had infallibly the Spirit of Contradiction to carp at, and reproach every thing that was not agreeable to his own fancy. When

Opt. p. 84. we say yea, you say nay, (saith *Optatus*) *Est inter Licet nostrum, & Non licet vestrum, natum, & remigant animi Christianorum: nemo vobis credit, nemo nobis, omnes contentiosi homines sumus:* While we plead for the lawfulness, and you object the unlawfulness of Ecclesiastical affairs, the minds of the People are alienated from us, and they condemn us all for contentious Persons; So that the Heathen of that Age might well say, *Cum tot sint inter Christianos secta, sit anima mea cum philosophis.*

Their Opinion concerning the Magistrates Power in Ecclesiastical Affairs.

It is seldome that a Faction is made in the Church, but the Authors of it do raise Sedition in the State, their Principles do shew what their practices are like to be; *Quid est Imperatori cum Ecclesiâ, & quid nobis cum Regibus Seculi, quos nunquam nisi Invidios sensit Christianitas?* What hath the Emperor to do with the Church, or what have we to do with the Kings of this World, whom Christianity hath always found to be Adversaries? And hence, they

*August.
l. 2. ad
Petil. 92.*

they did not only refuse to pray for the Emperor, which the Catholicks perswaded them unto according to St. Paul's exhortation: *Orandum pro Imperatore quatenus Gentilis, quanto magis quod Christianus, quod Deum timens, quod religiosus, & misericors?* To pray for Kings, although they were Heathen, much more for such as are religious, gracious and merciful; but instead of Prayers, *Invenit Donatus Bagaïensis unde contra Macarium furiosam concitaret turbam* Opt. p. 68. Donatus Bishop of Bagaia, could raise Armed Troops against Marcellinus. But they held also, that they ought not to be restrained by the Emperor's Laws in the Worship of God, and therefore they cried out of persecution, as often as any penalty was to be inflicted on them for their disorderly Assemblies: They were (*contumaces & levibus hostili modo repugnantes*) insolent, and professed Enemies to the Laws. When any of the Emperors sent their chief Officers to make Peace, and establish Unity in the Church, *quia uni Deo convenit ut in unitate colatur*; as Constans sent Paulus and Macarius, and Honorius sent Marcellinus and Dulcitius, who came not, as Florus did, to shut up the Doors of the Churches, or to pull them down; but, *ut pigri in Basilicam cogerentur*, Opt. p. 71. to regain them to the Church that were refractory, that God and Christ might be invoked with one consent; they cry out of oppression, and invading the Liberty of their Consciences; and like David's Enemies,

When he spake to them of peace, they made themselves ready for battel. To this the Father plead, that the Church was in the Common-wealth, that is, in *Romano Imperio*, and not the Common-wealth in the Church; that God had promised, that he would send *Kings to be nursing Fathers, and Queens nursing Mothers in the Church*; and required our Prayers for them, and our obedience to them, that under their protection, we may lead quiet and peaceable lives, in all godliness and honesty: And accordingly, the Catholicks being sensible of their duty, were always loyal, and as ready to spend their lives for the Emperor, as the *Donatists* were to adventure them against him: whereby they consummated an evil life with a worse death; as *St. Augustine* said: And if the Magistrate may by the Sword punish Murther, Oppression, and Robbery, and Witchcraft, why may he not also, saith *St. Augustine*, restrain such practices, as give occasion to all these? Whatever evils you suffer from the Magistrate, you draw them on your own heads: *Si occidi malum est, ipsi causa mali estis*, and therefore your sufferings are not a Persecution, but Justice, as the same Father.

Again *St. Augustine* minds them, that they themselves had made use of the Emperor's Laws and Edicts, against the *Maximianists*, and we blame you not (saith he) for restraining their fury by the secular Sword, but that you condemn that in others, which you hold lawful for your selves to do. You can by the

Theodo-

Theodosian Laws, exclude and punish them for opposing the Party of *Donatus*, and yet you are highly offended, if any censure pass against you, *Qui adversus Orbem terrarum Sacrilega dissensionis altare crexistis*, Who have separated from all other Churches in the World. How was it probable they could live as good Subjects, when they accounted their Emperors Enemies and Persecutors of their Religion; and that such dyed Martyrs, who desperately cast away their own Lives, in opposing their Brethren, and the Officers of the Emperor, that were sent to provide for the common Peace? *Si vestros videri Martyres vultis, probate amasse pacem in qua prima sunt Martyrii* Opt. p. 72.
fundamenta, aut dilexisse Deo placidam unitatem, aut habuisse cum fratribus charitatem sine qua maxima & imperiosa virtus caret effectus: If you would have those, that dye in your persuasion, to be accounted Martyrs, you ought to prove that they were lovers of peace, Unity and Charity; without which all other Vertues are ineffectual to that end. *Non in passione certa est justitia, sed in justitia passio est gloriosa*. Whatever severity they met with, the Catholics were far from occasioning it, as the *Donatists* did charge them. They did sometime Petition the Magistrate to relieve and protect themselves, but never to destroy the *Donatists*; but when they had provoked the Secular Power, the Catholics interceded for them: whereas on the contrary, the *Donatists* did not only provoke the Magistrate, but the
 Heathen

Optatum
P. 57.

Heathen also against them, as in the days of *Julian*, who did indulge them, as well as the *Donatists*, until by their means, *Julian* was enraged against the Catholics, and the *Donatists* were made his Instruments in many Cruelties against them: *Urgentibus & presentibus Episcopis vestris, persecutionem disponebat*. So that they exceeded the *Arians* in their malice, for they, Armed by the Emperors of their own persuasion, (*Constantius* and *Valens*) did persecute the Catholics, but the *Donatists* persecuted them, *non modo non adiuvantibus, sed*

* *Si Imperatoribus eorum communionem deconstantibus talia ausi sunt, quid facerent si is per Imperatoris communionem aliquid efficere liceret? August.*
contr. Petil. l. 1.

reclamantibus; when the Emperors did strictly forbid it. * So far were they from indulging that liberty of worshipping God to their Brethren, which they themselves expected from the Emperors, that they would complain of Persecution, if it were not granted them. While *Constantine* was in the Throne, none petitioned

and pleaded for Toleration more than the *Donatists*, and professed themselves irreconcilable Adversaries to all persons, and Principles, that should tend to disturb, or punish Men for their Conscience sake. But as soon as *Julian* was settled in the Empire, and called home some of them from Banishment, and restored their Churches to them, the Emperor himself was not so imperious and sanguinary as they. Whatever good Laws *Constantine* had made for the welfare and unity of the Church of God, were condemned, as acts of Arbitra-

Arbitrary Power. But when *Julian* granted their Society some Priviledges, to the vexing and grieving of the Catholicks, these were applauded as acts of Grace; nor had *Constantine* that love and obedience from them, which they manifested to the Apostate. And evident it is, that one reason why the Catholicks were so much envied and hated by the *Donatists*, was, because the Emperors did favour them, being more peaceable and loyal. *Eusebius* tells us, that *Constantine* frequently advised with his Bishops, even in Secular Affairs: And then, *Quid Episcopi cum Palatio?* What have Bishops to do at Court, (say they) or to meddle with the Government? *Vos portatis Imperatorum Sacras, (i. e.) literas, nos portamus sola Evangelia*: You are busie in promoting the Edicts and Mandats of the Emperors, we study only the Gospels. To this *St. Augustine* answers, *Epist. 166*. Because you have no Power with the Emperor, you would raise envy against us that have: but *Melius est portare veras iussiones Imperatoris pro unitate quam falsas Indulgentias pro perversitate*. Whatever their study was, their practice was contrary, their hands were the hands of *Esau*, though their voice was like *Jacobs*. I cannot omit to enlarge a little concerning their Arguments for Liberty of Conscience, that there might be no violence, or restraint laid upon them, to reduce them to Uniry, in the Service of God. *Gaudentius* a *Donatist* Bishop, argueth thus, *Scriptum est, fecit Deus hominem,*

*Aug. l. 2.
contra
& Gaudent.*

& reliquit eum in manu Arbitris scilicet, that God made Man, and left him in the power of his own judgment, that is, to the Liberty of his own Conscience, (as the following Discourse expounds it) and why should that be forced from me, which God hath granted me? Mark (saith he) how great Sacriledge is committed against God, when humane presumption takes away what he gave, and binds it self to act for God, and to defend him with force and violence, as if he could not avenge the injury that is done to him. *Christi voluntas invitatur, non cogit invitos*: The power which Christ teacheth, inviteth them that are willing, and doth not force them that are unwilling. God sent Prophets to teach the People of *Israel*, not Kings; and *Christ*, to promote the Salvation of Souls, sent not Soldiers, but Fishermen. To which I may add the

Contra Petilian.
lib. 1. 2.

Of *Petilian*, *Abstine!* *abstine à nostra conscientia, ut ad nostram fidem aliquem compellamus*: Far be it from us, that we should compel any to be of our persuasion*.

* Si voluntas libera unicuique tribuenda est, *Ceciliano prius tribuatur, August. post Colat. cum Donatist.*

To which *St. Augustine* replies, (1.) By minding them of their Proceedings against the *Maximianists*,

against whom they made use of the *Theodosian Laws*. And (2.) how when under *Julian*, they had gotten some power, they improved it to the utmost against the Catholics. So that, as *St. Augustine* says, the Kite that is frightened from preying upon the Chicken, may as well be thought a Dove, as they be accounted

ted

ed mild and gentle, who only want power,
 and not malice. And then he shews, how ir-
 rational and impious their Arguments are, by
 which all humane lusts and outrages should go
 unpunished, and no King should restrain his
 Subject, nor a Father his Children from any
 wickedness: For if you once blot out that
 which the Apostle says, for the good govern-
 ment of Mankind; *Let every Soul be subject*
to the higher powers, &c. you open a Gap to
 all Licentiousness. *Clamate si audeis punian-*
tur homicidia, puniantur adulteria, sola sacrile-
gia volumus a regnantium legibus impunita.
 How can you say that Murther and Adultery
 ought to be punished by the Magistrate, but
 Sacrilegious Schismes ought to be permitted?
 Or, that it is not the duty of the Magistrate,
 to contradict or punish you, when you are in-
 jurious to his Church and Worship? If a pre-
 tence of Conscience may supersede the Penal-
 ties of the Law, few Offenders would be re-
 strained or punished for any Transgression.
 And therefore St. *Augustine* calls it, a most vain
 and impertinent way of reasoning, which their
 own practice did contradict and confute, as
 often as they had power in their hands; and
 tells them, they did most incuriously condemn
 the Emperors, as Persecutors, when they only
 restrained evil doers, and dealt with unruly
 Persons, as Physicians use to deal with phre-
 netick Patients, that bind them up from hurt-
 ing themselves, and others. *Non persequitur*
Phreneticum Medicum sed Medicum Phrenesi-
cus.

cus. If Men be frantick, and being diseased themselves, shall endeavour to infect and disturb others, he is a Physician, not a Persecutor that binds them to better behaviour. St. *Augustine* wrote an Epistle to *Bonifacius*, which in the second Book of his *Retractions*, he calls, *Librum de correctione Donatistarum*. Wherein he asserts the power of the Magistrates, to make coercive Laws in the Case of Religion. 1. Because the Kings that did it not under the Law, were blamed, and those that did it, commended. 2. Because it is their duty, as Kings, *Aliter enim servit quia homo, aliter quia Rex*: As a Man, the King ought to serve God, by living faithfully, as a King, by executing with convenient rigor such Laws, as command things that are just, and forbidding what is contrary. For what sober Man will say, to Kings, *Nolite curare in Regno vestro a quo teneatur vel oppugnetur Ecclesia Domini nostri*? It is not your duty to take care who joyn themselves to the Church of God, or who oppose it; as if they ought not to regard the piety of Men, as well as the Chastity of Women, or it concerned them, that there should be no Rebels, and not that there should be no Idolaters, or Sacrilegious Persons in their Kingdom. 3. Because Kings may redress what others cannot, they having the Sword given them to that end; and whereas the *Donatists* objected, *Cui vim Christus intulit?* Whom did Christ ever constrain? He propounds the case of Saint *Paul*, that was stricken to the Earth, in whom they

they might perceive, Christ first restraining, and then teaching him. And our Lord appointed Guests to be first invited, and upon refusal, to be compelled to his great Supper. Wherefore if those that are found by the Highways, and Hedges, (i.e.) among Hereticks, or Schismaticks, be constrained to the Lords Vineyard, by the Power which the Church hath received, ever since Kings received the Christian Faith, let them not find fault, that they are driven by force, but consider whither they are driven, even to those Pastures where they may find true food, and rest to their Souls. 4. Because the Donatists used unjust violence, to suppress the Catholicks, much more might Christian Princes use their just Power to support them: *Cur non cogeret Ecclesia perditos filios ut redirent, si perditii filii coegerunt alios ut perirent?* It is unworthy a Christian Emperor, to deny his Subjects Power to destroy other Mens lives, and to leave them power to destroy their own, and other Mens Souls. And, when the Emperor makes Laws for falshood against the truth, they that are faithful, are approved, and they that persevere are crowned; And when he makes Laws for truth against falshood, those that were cruel are restrained, and those that are intelligent are reformed. He therefore, that will not obey the Laws of the Emperor, made against the truth, obtains a great reward; and he that will not obey the Laws made for the truth, deserves a great punishment: See *Epistle 50.*

It

It hapned that *Donatus* a Presbyter, was summoned to appear at one of the Councils at *Carthage*; to prevent the censure that he expected there, he threw himself into a Well, and would have certainly perished there, had not others been more charitable to him, than he was to himself. From this accident, *Saint Augustine* reasons thus: If they be justly chastised your Friends, that preserved your Natural Life, when you endeavoured desperately to destroy it, how can you think them your Enemies, who in love to your Soul, seek to preserve that unto Eternal Life? *An justior est privata violentia, quam regia diligentia?*

Epist. 204. And again, *An perperam agitur, cum Reges prohibent divisionem, & non cum Episcopi dividunt unitatem?* Doubtless the good Laws which were made and executed by publick Authority, to prevent such barbarous actions, were much more just than those acts of violence, whereby they destroyed themselves and others. Therefore he proves that none of the *Donatists* were so severely dealt with, by the lawful power of the Christian Emperors, for the Peace and Unity of the Church, as they dealt with one another, in their private Divisions, nor as they dealt with themselves, in violently procuring their own Deaths: and yet their Survivors justified this practice, from the Example of *Razius*, 2. *Macchab.* which *St. Augustine* confutes at large in the 61. Epistle. And in his second Book against *Petilian*, he saith, *Nemo vobis aufert liberum Arbitrium,*

Arbitrium, sed attendite, quid potius eligatis, utrum correcti, vivere in pace, an in malitia perseverantes, falsi Martyris nomine, vera supplicia sustinere. That good Laws did not deprive them of the liberty of their wills, but did require them to consider, what was most eligible, whether by gentle correction, to be kept within the bounds of peace, or by persevering in malice, instead of a pretended Martyrdom, to suffer deserved punishments.

It may here be seasonable to Answer an Objection, which is made by some Persons, for Liberty of Conscience, and against the enacting of Penal Laws in the Cause of Religion, which I am obliged to take notice of, because it particularly asserts, that none of those Christian Emperors, through whose Lives I have drawn the Series of this History, did enact any Laws, or use any force for the Suppression of Sectaries, or Hereticks, but granted them all a free Toleration. Dr. *Stubs* improved this Objection to the utmost, in a Treatise concerning the Power of the Civil Magistrate in things of Spiritual concernment, which Treatise, I hope he hath put among his Retractions, as St. *Augustine* did some Opinions of the like nature.

And first, I wonder why he should mention, p. 4th. that Law of the Twelve Tables, *Separatim nemo habessit Deos, neve novos, sed nec advenas, nisi publice adscitos, privatim colunto;* (the breach whereof the Romans often punished with Death) unless he thought the Christi-

an Magistrate less obliged to take care of the true Religion, than the Heathen were of a false. It being matter of fact, which I am concerned to Answer, I might confute the Objection (as the Philosopher did him, that denied motion, by rising up and walking before him) by transcribing the several Imperial Laws, made to restrain both Schismes and Heresies, which I shall add by themselves hereafter, and shall now reflect on those, which he says, were made in favour of them. And first, I say, in general, with St. *August. contra Parmen*: *Nec pro his aliquid promulgasse quis invenitur, nisi Julianus Apostata*. That *Constantine* was the first that published many Edicts against them, (which have been particularly mentioned already) and that none, but *Julian* the Apostate, may be found to have enacted any thing in their favour. And yet p. 55. the Objector says, *Constantine* did allow an Universal Toleration, and to that purpose, he quoteth *Eusebius* in the 2d. Book of the Life of *Constantine*, c. 55. where the Reader may easily observe, that the Liberty there granted, was to the Heathen, whom he distinguisheth from the faithful, and (says he) let them (*if they will*) erect Groves and Altars to Vanity: for indeed they would do it, whether the Emperor would or no, All the Senators, and the far greatest part of his Dominions, being Heathen; and *Constantine* could not deny them their Ancient Rites, (*Ut Senatui morem gereret*) lest he should displease the Senate. And the Objector notes that

Eusebius

Eusebius spake largely of this, to no other end, but to confute those, who had given out, that he had abolished the Heathenish Rites and Customs. And indeed he did not seek to bring the Heathen to Christianity by force; but that he did by force endeavour to keep Christians in Unity, is beyond all doubt. And those very Edicts which seem to grant Liberty to the Heathen, were framed purposely in favour of the Christians, as that made by *Constantine* and *Licinius*, mentioned by *Eusebius*, l. 10. c. 5. For *Licinius* being a Heathen, violently Persecuted the Christians under his Dominions, to prevent which, this Edict seems to grant a General Toleration, but it especially respected the welfare of Christians, (for the Heathen (as I have said) were not to be suppressed) — as, *That Liberty be not denied to any, to imbrace and imitate the Christian Religion without molestation* — And, *Nominatim Christianis decernimus*, that such Places wherein the Christians were wont to meet, however alienated, should be restored to them, whether they had been seized by the Emperors, or by them given, or sold to any other. After this, we are told of several Pagan Philosophers, that were in favour with the Emperors, as *Sopater* with *Constantine*, who sat him sometime at his right hand; *Libanius*, who under *Constantinus*, had the tuition of *Julian*, as also *Maximus Tyrius* had; so *Themistius* was a Senator in the time of *Theodosius*; *Symmachus* was *Præfectus Urbis*, in the days of *Valenti-*

nian and Valens, and Consul in *Theodosius* his
 Reign: of all which we may say, as the Obje-
 ctor doth, concerning *Generianus*, who was
 made General under *Honorius*; That the Em-
 peror did it out of necessity, p. 88. But that
Honorius favoured the *Donatists*, and did only
 punish them a while, by the instigation of *Stilicho*,
 the *Donatists* found to be an untruth,
 when after the Death of *Stilicho*, the same
 Laws were still executed upon them, so severe-
 ly, that as the *Donatists* grieved for the death
 of *Julian*, so they rejoiced at the Death of
Honorius. It were no difficult matter to tran-
 scribe many Laws made by the Christian Em-
 perors, against the *Pagan Rites*; but it is not
 to my purpose, and therefore I shall only trou-
 ble my Reader with that of St. *Augustine*, E-
 pistle 48. *Quis nostrum, quis vestrum non laudat
 leges ab Imperatoribus, adversus sacrificia Pa-
 gana? illius quippe impietatis Capitale supplicium
 est.* But at last we are told, that though
 there were very severe Laws made against He-
 reticks and Schismaticks, yet the Emperors ne-
 ver did, nor intended to execute them. So p. 80.
Constantine (saith he) made Laws against He-
 reticks, rather for shew and terror, than for
 execution; and so he tells us of *Theodosius*,
 that he made a Law, that the *Sectarians* should
 have no Assemblies, nor make any profession
 of their faith, nor ordain Bishops and Pastors,
 and that some of them should be banished the
 City and Country, others made infamous, and
 have no publick Preferment, and this he en-
 acted

acted with severe Penalties, which yet (saith he) the Emperor did never inflict, for he did not ordain these things with an intention to punish, but to terrifie his Subjects, that they might better agree in Religion. This had been a very politick device to bring their Authority into contempt, when the Imperial Laws, like the Blocks of Wood cast down from *Jupiter*, among the Frogs, having made a little noise, shall ever after lye still, for every creeping thing to leap and insult over them. If the courage and resolution of those Emperors, or rather the opportunities for the execution of those Laws had been answerable to their prudence in making them, they might, in all probability, have stopt that deluge of Christian blood, which was poured forth in greater abundance, through all *Africa*, by the *Donatists*, than by the Heathen Emperors. And the Execution of those Laws, with such moderation, as the Catholicks did alway desire, expressed in several Epistles of *St. Augustine*, to *Bonifacius*, *Cecilianus*, and other of the Emperor's Officers, had been, as *St. Augustine* says, *Epistle 50. magna in eos misericordia*, as great an act of Charity to the Bodies and Souls of Christians, and of Piety towards God, as the Indulgence granted by *Julian* was an occasion of Impiety and Cruelty; whereby he had almost destroyed Christianity, by permitting Divisions among its Professors. Nor were the Christian Emperors negligent in the execution of their Laws, as far as the present

necessities, and iniquity of the Times would permit. The Objector instanceth in the banishment of *Arius*, and four or five more with him, under *Constantine*, p. 60. And of *Evagrius*, under *Theodosius*, for keeping Conventicles, and I have given divers other instances. If we may believe the complaints of the *Donatists*, they were not only in *terrorem*, they felt not only the Rod, but the Sword too, sometime, which as the Scripture saith, *The Magistrate beareth not in vain*; You may hear them complain, *Quod eos Constantinus ad Campum, (i.e.) ad Supplicium duci jussit, l. 1. contra Parmen.* that they were in great Numbers exiled, and had divers Punishments, even unto Death inflicted on them.

*Epistle ad
Bonifacium.*

And we read that St. *Augustine* and the Catholics, did often mediate with the Emperor's Officers, that their Punishment might not be unto Death, and yet they accuse the Catholics, as if they had been the cause of forming and sharpening the Instruments of Punishment against them, such as the following Laws mentioned in the conclusion of this History.

Of their unjust Censures and Calumnies.

The Foundation of this Schisme was laid on the ruine of the reputation of *Cecilian*, and the Catholics in Communion with him, whom they reported to be Traditors and Idolaters, that they had nor Ministers, nor Sacraments, and their whole Worship was corrupted

ted by Superstition, and strange Images, which were set upon their Altars. As for St. *Augustine*, he was a contentious Disputer, and a perverter of Souls, rather to be avoided than refused, or to be dealt with as a Wolf, or a Beast of prey, and accordingly they did lay many secret Snares to intrap and ruine Him. It is evident, that by the very act of separation, they did condemn their Brethren, as guilty of some heinous sins, for which they refused to hold Communion with them, and as much as in them lay, excommunicated all the Churches of *Africa*, as corrupted by Traditors, and become Apostates. They appealed from *Melchisedech*, not only as partial, but as being himself a Traditor. Nor was the Emperor free from their Calumny, for they report him to have been misguided by *Hosius* the famous Bishop, and other evil Counsellors: *Imperatorias aures pravis suggestionibus sufflatus*; whereof he was never more guilty, than in yielding so far as he did, to their importunity, which he did to a good end: *Eorum perversitatibus cedens, & omnimodo cupiens tantam impudentiam cohibere*; being wearied by them, and hoping by so many sentences against them, he might for ever silence their impudent clamors. Of *Mensurius*, who preceded *Cecilian*, they said, that he was, *Tyranno seior, Carnifice crudelior*, more raging than a Tyrant, and more cruel than a Hangman; and that he had chosen *Cecilian*, as a fit instrument of his cruelty, whereas *Mensurius* was

Opt. Append. p. 291.

well known to yield himself up to the pleasure of *Dioclesian*, rather than to betray his Brother; and of *Cecilian's* innocency, you have heard sufficiently. Nor did they deal thus only with the Clergy, but with the Magistrates also. *Donatus* writing to *Gregorius* a Prefect, begins directly in the Language of our Quakers, *Gregori, macula Senatus! Dedecus Praefectorum!* Thou *Gregory*, the blot of the Senate, and disgrace of the Prefects, *Optat.* p. 64. This was not their common, but their holy Language; *Profertis Evangelium & facitis convivium*; their Preaching was little else besides Railing. And as if their Preaching was not enough, they did in *perpetuam Rememoriam*, fill their Libels and Writings with such unfavoury Language. *Nullus vestrum est, qui non tractatibus suis convitia nostra miscet*: And this they did to maintain prejudice in the hearts of the People, and to lay a scandal, or stumbling-block in the way of such, as might otherwise be brought over to a better Opinion of their lawful Pastors. *Auditorum animis infunditis odia, inimicitias docendo, suadetis, Hac omnia dicendo contra nos scandala ponitis, Optat.* p. 78. And though there were many among the People of the Catholick Communion, that lived unblameably among their Adversaries, yet did they condemn them for remaining in the Faith and Communion of their Pastors; as *Petilian* told *St. Augustine* to his face: *Qui fidem à perfido sumpserit, non fidem sumpsit, sed reatum: August. contra Petil.*

tit. l. 1. When *Constantine* sent *Paulin* and *Marcianus* to promote Unity, and comfort the Catholics, that had been much vexed and injured by the *Donatists*, they report that they were come to advance Idolatry and Superstition, that they had brought Images, which they intended to set upon the Altars, and would command the People to Worship them; Whereas those Statues were sent rather as a token of the Emperor's favour, (it being a Custome of those Emperors, to send their Effigies into those Countries under their Dominion, to which they could not come in Person) and the Christian Emperors had provided by their Edicts, that *Cultura excedens hominum dignitatem, supremo numini reservaretur*; Onely a civil respect was to be yielded to them, and Divine Worship to be reserved to God alone. And the event proved them lyars, for when those peace-makers came, and communicated with the Catholics, *Nil tale visum est, nil viderunt Christiani Oculi quod horrerent*. There was no change or innovation in the Publick Worship, but the same decency and order was observed as formerly, and those Images proved to be onely imaginations of their own brains. The Second *Nicene* Council calls these Images of the Emperor's, *Laurata & Iconas*, which being sent to great Cities, the People went out to meet them, with Acclamations to the Emperor, whom they did honour, and not the painted Image. Thus also they accused *Marcellinus*, as if he had been corrupted

corrupted by Bribes and Presents from the Catholics, to incline him to their Cause. And *Honorius* the Emperor was said to be seduced by Evil Counsellors, though he acted by the known Laws of his Ancestors. And as to false accusations, they gave such proof of their faculty in contriving them, that St. *Augustine* at the Conference at *Carthage*, hearing them, contrary to evident truth, to charge *Felix* and *Mensurinus* for *Traditors*, and to alledge that *Optatus* had written, that *Cecilian* was condemned by *Miltiades*, and that *Constantine* had imprisoned him at *Brinxia*, tells *Cresconius*, that he wondred how the *Donatists* could have any Bloud in their Bodies, and not blush at the mentioning of such things. And as to St. *Augustine's* particular, they gave him no other Character, but of a contentious Sophister, that was rather to be avoided than confused, and to be dealt with as a Wolf; upon no other provocation, but because, as St. *Augustine* said, they had rather cover a bad cause with wicked slanders and excuses, than to end it by fair disputations and inquiry after truth. And this is the reason, saith he, that *Cresconius* (*Me fecit causam cum defecisset in Causa.*) fell so foully on my Person, when I had fairly overthrown his cause. Leave off such subtrefuges, (saith he) I am but one Man. It is the cause of the Church, not my own, that is now in question; what my conversation is, is known to those among whom I live, we are now to inquire into the cause of the Church. *Optatus*
com-

complained of the like Calumnies long before.
Nullus vestrum est, qui non suis tractatibus Opt. p. 69.
convitia nostra miscet, lectiones Dominicas in-
cipitis, & tractatus vestros ad injuriam nostram
explicatis. Profertis Evangelium & facitis idem p. 81.
absenti fratri convitium, nec voluntatem bonam
vis habere nec pacem: They wrested and tor-
 tured the Scripture, to make it speak against
 their Brethren. There is not one of you that
 doth not fill up his Sermons with Slanders.
 You begin to read the Scriptures, and expound
 them to our injury and disgrace. You have
 neither Peace, nor Good will. *Turba gravis*
paci placideq; inimica quieti.---

Of their Cruelty.

What St. Cyprian (Epistle 49.) observed of
Donatus, was true of these, *In ipsa persecu-*
tione, alia nostris persecutio fuit. St. *Angu-*
stine, in the Psalm which he wrote against the
Donatists, saith more, *Quod persecutor non*
fecit, ipsi fecerunt in pace. They that were
 prodigal of their own Lives, could not be spa-
 ring of other Mens. No sooner did any of
 the People flie from the Catholicks to the *Do-*
natists, but they were of another spirit, clean
 contrary to what the Gospel inspires good
 Christians withall. This made the Lyon as
 mild as the Lamb, but among the *Donatists*,
 not only Men, but Women, of Sheep became
 Wolves; of faithful, perfidious; of patient,
 furious; of peaceable, contentious; and of
 modest,

Epist. 48.

modest, impudent. *Optatus* (p. 99.) says, they were *pragmatici & crudeles*, busie and diligēt in exercising Cruelty. (*Episcopi vestri multas cades, propria manu perpetrarunt:*) Many of their Bishops did with their own hands, shed that Blood, for the sparing of which Christ shed His. Under *Constantine*, and other good Emperors, they did not make such havock of the Churches as they would, they were then awed by a greater Power; But St. *Augustine* tells them, *Nulla bestia mansueta dicitur, quod neminem mordet, cum dentes & unguis non habet*: The Lyon or the Bear do not lose their Natures, when they lose their Liberty, or their Pawes and Teeth; and that their intentions were alway cruel, their actions manifested, as soon as they got liberty, and their power was increased under *Julian*. *Qua cades à vobis facta postquam Julianus Basilicas tradidit?* What Murthers did they not commit, when *Julian* restored the Churches, and gave them power? They forced the Catholicks from their Habitations, and Churches, into the Mountains, or into Places of strength, and there assaulted them, with as much fury as the most barbarous Enemy: they slew the Bishops at the Altars, and those Churches which *Dioclesian* had spared, were by the *Donatists* razed to the ground: they were *Interfectores Prophetarum*, Murthers of the Prophets, and built Monuments to those that murdered them. And this did animate them, to slay the Catholicks with a rage that reached up to Heaven, they were taught, that

that they did God good service in it. When Men think their Passions to be warranted from Heaven, and that they act by a Commission from God, they think themselves obliged by their greatest hopes and fears, to act them to the highest, as St. Paul did before his Conversion. But such a furious zeal is without knowledge: For the Wisdom that is from above, is first Pure, then Peaceable, &c. How far the Donatists were from this temper, the many Massacres made by them do demonstrate: it was a sport to them to shed Blood, for as Optatus says, they did *Vivum facere Homicidium*, make Men dye often, starving some to death, cutting off the Hands and Fingers of others, putting out the Eyes of others with Lime and Vineger, *Deturbatos bonis & dignitatibus, vivere in poenam quasi sibi ipsis superstites finitis*: The very mercies of these wicked Men were cruel. Yea, they persecuted them after Death, denying them Burial, and exposing their dead Bodies to the Beasts, and Fowls of the Ayre: *Ut terrentis vivos, male tractatis mortuos, negantes funeribus locum, cum mortuis litigatis*.

Clarus a Priest, being ready to perform the solemnity accustomed at the Funerals, in the Village of Subbulia, was forbid by his Bishop, who was a Donatist, and so did *insepultam facere Sepulcrum*. I shall name but that one instance of Novatus, of whom St. Cyprian tells us, *Epist. 49. ad Cornelium*, that he suffered his Father to dye for want of Bread, in

Opt. p. 99.

a neighbouring Village, and would not permit him to be Buried when he was Dead. He kicked his Wife, so as to cause an Abortion. And in a word, among such as *Novatians* and *Donatus* were, they are esteemed most Religions that are most cruel and unnatural, as if they had a command to hate Father and Mother, &c.

Of their Pride.

They thought so well of themselves, that they would not sit with the Catholicks, and thought themselves injured if the Catholicks called them Brethren, as *St. August. contra Opt. p. 52. Gaudentinum, l. 3.* So *Petilian* refused to sit with the Bishops in the Conference at *Carthage*, pretending it was forbidden in Scripture to sit with the wicked. *Donatus* the first was a Person that often affronted the Emperor's Chief Officers, and as the Emperor complained, much hindred his service by the Tumults which he raised against them.

He kept the Bishops of his own Party at such a distance, as if they all had their dependence on him. When he met any of them, his question was, *Quid agitur de parte mea?* What success have my Party? and the Bishops thought it a great honour to write themselves (as they did in publick acts) *Episcopus ex parte Donati*; and as if the Title of Bishop had been too mean for him, he was called *Donatus of Carthage*, by way of eminency.

DONATUS

Donatus the Second, whom they called *Magnum*, (after the Title of him that subdued the whole World) was not content with civil honour: *Eum non minori metu omnes Episcopi venerabantur quam Deum*: All his Bishops honoured him as if he had been a God. They did not only, *jurare in verba*, resign themselves to his sole conduct, as if he ruled them by an Infallible Spirit, but swore by him, which is not lawful to do by any, but God, *Opt. p. 65.* and seeing he did not forbid it, it is plain that he made himself as God: And the People generally reputed him as their Tutelar Angel, by whom *Carthage* was preserved, and all *Africa* blessed. He pretended such familiarity with God, as if he had immediate Answers to all his desires, *Oravit Donatus & respondit ei Deus de Cælo*. Seldome did he converse with any of his Brethren, but as an Oracle, to give rare and indisputable Answers, which *Tichonius* objected against him, who though he continued in *Donatus* his Party, yet found his Pride to grow intolerable, for he gave no other reason for his practice, but, *Quod volumus sanctum est*. *St. August. Epist. 193.* When *Marcellinus* at the Conference of *Carthage*, had entreated the Bishops to sit down, refusing to sit himself (though he then represented the Emperor) until they had taken their Places, the Catholick Bishops sate down, but the *Donatists* refused, and began to dispute the lawfulness of it, urging that of the Psalmist, *Odi Ecclesiam Malignantium*, Psalm 26. *I hate the Congregation*

gation of the wicked. To which the Catholicks replied, first wittily, that the *Psalmist* said also, *Cum iniquis non ingrediar*, that he would not enter into the Assembly of the wicked; and seeing they had condescended so far, as to come into their Company, they might as lawfully sit down with them. And then they desired them more seriously to remember, that *David* did not so hate the wicked, as for their sakes to forsake the Temple of the Lord: *Delib. Hist.* p. 218. And so after much intreaty they were perswaded to sit, but desired the Publick Notary to enter it among his Acts, that they did it at the pleasure of *Marcellinus*, & not of their own accord. The like pride was expressed by *Parmenian*, who being in Conference with some Catholicks, and brought to a non-plus, rose up in a fume, and said (*Modicum fermentum, totam Massam corrumpit. Dixit hoc Parmenianus & abiit. l. 3. contra Parmen.*) A little Leaven leaveneth the whole Lump, and so went away.

Dpt. p. 98. This pride of Spirit appears in that, when they entred upon the Churches of the Catholicks, they did wash the very Pavement, and whited the Walls, they broke the consecrated Chalice, and sold them away; and lest any part of the Sacrament which the Catholicks had consecrated, should have touched the Linnen Cloaths, wherewith at the administration of the Sacrament they covered the Altars; *Quis fidelium nescit ipsa ligna linteamine cooperiri?* they did not only remove them, but the

the Altars themselves, which they razed even to the ground *. *Optatus* (l. 6. p. 95.) bids them dig deeper, seeing they knew not how far the pollution might extend; *Altam facite scrobem, sed observate ne veniat ad inferos, & illic inveniatis Core,*

* *Ne ad Deum solito more supplicatio ascenderet, impia manu scalas subducere laborastis, Opt. p. 94.*

Dathan, & Abiron, Schismaticos Magistros vestros; but beware, saith he, that you dig not so low as Hell, where you may find your Schismatical Masters, *Core, Dathan, and Abiron.* These Men, saith St. *Augustine*, thought better of themselves than the Apostles did, and worse of their Brethren, than they did of *Judas, Cum quo Apostoli acceperunt primum Sacramentum Cœnæ;* with whom they received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: *Psalmus contra Donatistas.* So that it will be a hard matter to find out any sort of Men, to whom that Character of the Man of sin, *2 Thess. 2. 4.* better agreeth, *Who opposeth and exalteth himself against all that is called God, and is worshipped.*

And thus having shewn to what height of impiety and mischief this Schisme did grow, from very small and inconsiderable beginnings, so by that, all Men may see the madness of such, as give themselves up to dividing Principles, as manifest as the Scripture said it should be: and though I have not painted the Sin as black as it was, yet enough is done to affright all such, as profess the Gospel of Peace, and pretend to the Spirit of Love, from such destructive

2 Tim. 3. 9.

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practices:

in Epistle.

practices : For, as *Solomon* says, they are fools that make a mock of sin, and think light of so great an evil : That cast Fire-brands, Arrows, and Death, and make themselves sport, as if their work and their Religion engaged them (as the *Πυρσβαλλοι*, or Priests of *Mars*) to scatter Fire in the Church of God ; Behold, saith St. *James*, how great a matter, a little fire kindleth ; that fire he means, which is kindled in the Hearts and Tongues of such, as profess the Christian Religion from beneath, when they think themselves inspired from above. All *Africa* was not fuel enough, it put *Rome*, and *France*, and *Spain* into a flame, and that not for the present Age only, but St. *Gregory* says, it continued both name and thing to his time, and though those flames were for a good while after abated, the heat of those distempers having consumed the vitals of religion, the true knowledge and fear of God, and although the fire was raked up under the ashes of ignorance and impiety, yet at length some rash and unwary Persons brought home from beyond the Seas into these Kingdomes, such burning Coals, as meeting with combustible matter, and having glowed a while, and only obscured and sullied the beauty of our Church by their smoke, at length brake out into a devouring flame, and (not to renew our sorrows, by recounting the almost innumerable mischiefs that it did) consumed the very foundations both of Church and State. And though by the wonderful compassions of God, (which because they failed not,

not, therefore we were not consumed) our foundations were not only new layed, but glorious structures, to the envy and admiration of our enemies were raised on them; yet we still feel such unnatural heats, (though God be thanked we do not yet see the flame) that we have no Reason to be secure, or to think our building and establishment to be safe, though the foundations be sure; especially if we shall consider, how like this fire hath been to that of Hell, it having been for so many Hundred Years unquenchable.

How much the Holy Waters of the Church of *Rome*, which have been abundantly sprinkled on us, have contributed to the increasing of our flames, (notwithstanding the boast of their extinguishing Vertue) is more to be deplored than disputed. If any thing may be available, our penitent Tears, and importunate Prayers to the God of Peace, That he would give Peace in these our days, may be most effectual. And of this blessing we need not doubt, if every one would sincerely endeavour to withdraw that fuel of spiritual Pride and Vain-glory, of Envy and Malice, of Carnal Lusts and Secular Interests, and let the Word of God, the Water of Life, dwell richly in him; for those living Plants of the knowledge and fear of God, obedience to our Governors, love and good will to our Brethren, of humility and a mean conceit of our selves, would resist and suppress those flames, whereas our formality and empty profession, a zeal without knowledge, a spirit

of pride, contention and contradiction, and ambitious aspiring, as the bramble in the Parable of *Jotham*, makes us like so many dry sticks and sapless Leaves ready to take fire at every blast and motion of the Winds. Let us therefore study to be quiet, and to do our own business, to repent of our own sins, and amend every one his own life, instead of Reforming Churches and Kingdomes. And as *Solomon* adviseth, *Fear God and the King, and not meddle with them that are given to change.*

POST-SCRIPT.

I Have thought fit to Transcribe some few of those Laws, made by the most Christian Emperors, against this rude Faction, the execution whereof (when all other means had been used in vain) gave a check to its growth. *Constantine*, as his Nature, and his Religion more especially inclined him, had long endeavoured to reduce them by lenity and indulgence, but the insolence of the Faction necessitated him to a greater rigour, for he well perceived that his Indulgence to the *Donatists*, was not only an occasion of their Cruelty to the Catholicks, but of great disturbance in his Empire. *St. Augustine* also, who had been an Advocate for them, against the rigour of the Imperial Laws, saw it to be expedient to execute those Laws against them in all their Sanctions,

tions, except only in the case of Life. And whoever shall impartially consider the History of those Times, may observe with me these two things: *First*, That as the Emperors, and their Councils, became more zealous for the Christian Religion, they made stricter Laws, and with greater severity caused them to be put in Execution.—— *2ly*, That by the diligent execution of such Laws, the insolency of the Faction was much restrained, and unity and peace in a good measure established in the Church. And indeed the life of the Laws, as Sir Francis Bacon observes, is in the execution of them, without which they are always a dead (and sometime a killing) Letter, and it were much more convenient not to have them made, than being made, not to have them executed; for, by this neglect, the Offenders are animated, and Authority contemned: As in the Natural body, when physick hath not its due operation, but only stirreth the humors without purging them, it causeth a new fermentation of blood, and makes way for the noxious humors to seize on the vital parts: Or like the placing of an impotent Dam, to a growing River, which causeth the Waters to swell and roar, and with a greater impetus, than they could have otherwise exerted, to overflow all bounds. What Solomon observed of the Laws of God, is as true of the Laws of Men: *Eccles. 8. 11. Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily; therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them*

to do evil. Common experience teacheth us, that if we only threaten our Children or Servants, and chastise them not as they deserve, they grow the more presumptuous and self-willed: And *Solomon* says, *Prov. 13. 24. He that spareth the rod hateth his Son, but he that loveth him, chastneth him betimes.*

Besides, what prejudice and jealousies doth such a neglect beget between a Prince and his People? The Prince sees a necessity of curbing the insolency of his People, by making wholesome Laws; The People fancy that the Prince hath an inclination to Tyranny, but, not executing those Laws, they suppose him to want power, and to be like a foolish Builder, who having begun to build, is not able to finish. And when they perceive a defect in power, as well as in prudence, to manage the Reins of Government, they endeavour to get the Bit, that was put into their Mouths, between their Teeth, and run away with their Rider. In a word, there is no Fruit more desirable to corrupt Nature, than that which is forbidden, the very prohibition doth endear it, and irritate our desires to an enjoyment. How many have publickly declared, that they could, and would have conformed to our Liturgy and Ceremonies, had they not been imposed by a Law: as if those things, which are in their own nature, lawful and good, became evil and unlawful, when enforced by a Law. This was long since practised by some Nonconformists, in the days of Archbishop *Land*, who commending to his
Clergy

Clergy the wearing of short Hair, they that had been zealous for it before that time, did afterwards suffer their Hair to grow to an excessive length. This is such a spirit of contradiction, as will not be charmed with Reason and Arguments, though the Charmer be never so wise; Nor will good Laws silence or suppress it, without a seasonable and vigorous execution of them, which was the course taken by the first Christian Emperors; as appears by the following Instances.

Sozomen Hist. Tripartit. l. 3. c. 11.

De Novatianis, Phrygibus, Valentinianis, &c.

Contra hos omnes Imperator (Constantinus) postâ lege sancivit auferri eorum Oratoria & Ecclesiis applicari, & neq; in Domibus privatorum eos Congregationes neq; publice celebrare: melius enim judicabat in Ecclesia Catholica communicandum & in eam cunctis convenire suadebat, propter quam legem (Arbitror) hærestum memoriam fuisse destructam

Post hanc enim legem neq; publice in Ecclesiis poterant convenire, neq; latenter, dum Episcopi civitatum & Clerici observantes talia prohiberent: hinc ergo plurimi metuentes, ad Ecclesiam se Catholicam contulerunt, Alii vero manserunt in sua sententia, non tamen successores hæresis reliquerunt.

Anno Constantini 20. lib. 1. Codicis Theodos.

De Hæreticis.

Privilegia qua contemplatione Religionis indulta sunt, Catholica tantum legis observatoribus prodesse oportet; Hæreticos autem & Schismaticos, non tantum ab hiis privilegiis alienos esse volumus, sed etiam diversis muneribus constringi, & subjici.

Eusebius in vitâ Constantini, l. 3. c. 61.

— Et hæc cautio eò vim suam porrigat, ut non modo non in publicis, sed nè in privatis quidem adificiis, aut in locis ullis separatis, hujus vestre superstitiosæ dementiæ factiones coeant: & propterea etiam jubemus, ut universa ades vestre, in quibus congressus illos celebrare consuevistis, penitus evertantur. Ac quò provisio hæc, in curandis erroribus, robur, & firmitatem sibi necessariam assequatur, mandavimus, ut omnia Superstitionis vestre loca, in quibus convenire solebatis, omnia dico hæreticorum templa, (si modo templa appellare convenit) sine recusatione aut controversiâ diruantur, & diruta, absq; morâ Catholica tradantur Ecclesiæ, reliqua loca publico Reipub. usui abdicantur, nec ulla in posterum vobis celebrandi conventus relinquantur facultas.

Hæc lege promulgatâ, istarum sectarum memoria, magna ex parte deleta est, plurimis ad Ecclesiam converfis; aliis autem, cum discipulos facere nequirent, è vitâ sublatis. Provisus ad Annum 20. Constantini.

Anna

Anno 418.

Ut pulsus ex urbe primitus capitibus dogmatis execrandi, Celestio & Pelagio, si qui hujus de cetero sacrilegii Sectatores quibuscunq; locis potuerint inveniri, aut de pravitate damnata à aliquem rursus proferre sermonem, à quocunq; corrupti, ad competentem judicem pertrahantur, quos siue Clericus siue Laicus fuerit, deferendi habeat potestatem, & sine prescriptione aliqua perurgendi, ut probationem convicti criminis stilius publicus insequatur, ipsis inexorati exilii deportatione damnatis.

Anno 419.

Ut nefandi dogmatis repertores ab urbe Româ veluti quadam Catholica veritatis contagia pellerentur, ne ignorantium mentes scava persuasione perverterent, sed quia obstinati criminis pertinax malum ut constitutio geminaretur coegit, recenti sanctione decrevimus ut si quis eos in quacunq; provinciarum parte latitare non nesciens aut propellere aut prodere distulisset, prescripta poena velut particeps subjaceret. Præcipuè tamen ad quorundam Episcoporum pertinaciam corrigendam qui pravas eorum disputationes tacito consensu asserunt, vel publica oppugnatione non destruunt----- Quicunq; damnationi suprâ memoratorum subscribere, impiâ obstinatione neglexerint, Episcopatus amissione multati, interditi à in perpetuum, expulsi civitatibus communionem priventur.

Anno

Anno 421.

Mandatum Volusiano Urbis Praefecto.

Ut omnes qui Dei invident pietati diligenter inquirat & eos faciat statim e muris urbis expelli; ita tamen ut ne intra centesimum lapidem habeant licentiam consistendi.

• Notat Vossius quod post ista edicta alii Episcopatu dejecti ut Julianus, &c. alii legum severitate territi seu fidei luce convicti ab erroris semita in veritatis viam reverterunt: ut Turbantius, & Leporius, qui de se sic confitentur, si imperitia & superbia, sic stulta simplicitas cum persuasione noxia, sic fervor cum intemperantia, sic debilis fides, in me viderunt, ut hac ab animo potuisse cedere, mihi stupenda Gratulatio.

Socrates, l. 2. Cap. 15. Historia tripartita.
Victor Constantinus Max. August. Episcopi
& Populo.

Malignos & impios Arius imitatus, dignum est, ut illorum quoque suscipiat ultionem: Stetit ergo Porphyrius divina pietatis inimicus iniqua volumina contra religionem proferens dignam promeruit invenire mercedem, & talem per quam impotens esset opprobrium & plurima completetur infamia; Et nunc placuit Arium & confectores ejus vocari Porphyrianos, ut quorum mores imitati sunt eorum vocabulo perscrvantur. Super hac autem, si qua conscriptio ab Aria facta invenitur igni tradatur, ut non solum pra-

va ejus doctrina depereat, sed neq; illa ejus possint remanere Commenta. Hoc etiam precipio, si quis Ariti conscriptiones celasse compertus & non repente proferens, igne consumpserit, mortis supplicio subjacebit, max enim ut in hoc fuerit captus, capitalem suscipiet ultionem. Deus vos custodiat.

De Trinitate.

Nullus hareticis Ministeriorum locus, nulla ad exercendam animi obstinatoris dementiam pateat occasio. Sciant omnes, etiamsi quid speciali quolibet rescripto, per fraudem elicitum, ab hujusmodi hominum genere impetratum sit, non valere. Arceantur cunctorum hareticorum ab illicitis congregationibus turba, unaq; & summi Dei nomen ubiq; celebretur. — Omnes hareticos illicitas agere intra oppida congregationes vetamus; at si quid eruptio factiosa tentaverit, ab ipsis etiam urbium moenibus, exterminato furore propelli jubemus.

Eucharistia & Siagrio Coss.

De Episcopis & Clericis.

Si quis Episcopus Sacerdotio pulsus, presumpserit ingredi civitatem ex qua pulsus est, jubemus hunc monasterio in alia regione constituto tradi, ut qua in Sacerdotio deliquit, in monasterio degens corrigat.

Conventicula illicita, etiam extra Ecclesiam

in

in privati adibus celebrari prohibemus, prosc
 ptionis domus periculo imminente, si dominus e
 jus in eâ Clericos nova ac tumultuosa conventi
 cula extra Ecclesiam celebrantes, susceperit.

Honorio & Aristaneto Coss.

De Hæreticis.

Omnes hæreses, legibus Divinis & imperiali
 bus vetita constitutionibus perpetuo quiescant,
 nemo ulterius conetur profana præcepta, vel do
 cere, vel discere, nec Antistites eorundum auda
 ant fidem insinuare quam non habent, & mini
 stros creare, qui non sunt; nec per conniventiam
 Judicantium omniumq; quibus per constitutiones
 paternas super hoc cura mandata est, ejusmodi
 audacia negligatur & crescat. Hæreticorum au
 tem vocabulo continentur, & latis adversus eos
 sanctionibus succumbere debent, qui vel levi ar
 gumento, à judicio Catholica religionis & tra
 mite detecti fuerint deviare.

Ansonio & Olybrio Coss.

Manichæos, vel Donatistas meritissimâ se
 veritate persequimur; huic itaq; hominum gene
 ri, nihil ex moribus, nihil ex legibus commune
 sit cum cæteris. Ac primum quidem volumus
 esse publicum crimen, quia quod in Religionem di
 vinam committitur in omnium fertur injuriam;
 quos honorum omnium publicatione prosequimur,
 ipsos quoq; volumus amoveri ab omni liberalitate,
 & successione, quolibet titulo veniente. Præte
 rea non donandi, non emendi, non vendendi, non
 postremo

postremo contrahendi cuiquam convicto relinquimus facultatem; in mortem quoque inquisitio extendatur. Nam si in criminibus Majestatis licet memoriam accusare defuncti non immerito; & hic debet subire tale iudicium; ergo & suprema illius scriptura irrita sit, siue testamento, siue Codicillo, siue Epistolâ siue aliquo alio genere reliquerit voluntatem, qui Manichæus fuisse convincitur. Sed nec filios heredes eis existere aut adire permittimus, nisi à paternâ pravitate discesserint: Delicti enim veniam pœnitentibus damus. In eos etiam auctoritatis nostra aculei dirigantur, qui eos domibus suis, damnandâ provisione defendunt. Servos insuper extra noxam esse volumus, si dominorum Sacrilegium evitantes ad Ecclesiam Catholicam servitio fidiore transierint. Honorio & Theodosio Coss.

Si vero Dominus temporalis, requisitus & admonitus ab Ecclesia, terram suam purgare neglexerit; ab hereticâ pravitate, post annum à tempore monitionis elapsam, terram ipsius exponimus Catholicis occupandam, qui eam exterminatis hereticis absque ullâ contradictione possideant, & in fidei puritate conservent: & quæ sequuntur ibidem.

Ariani, Mæcedoniani---Donatistæ & qui ad imani usque scelerum nequitiam pervenerunt, Manichæi; nusquam in Romanum locum conveniendi morandi que habeant facultatem. Manichæis etiam de civitatibus pellendis, & ultimo supplicio tradendis, quoniam his nihil relinquendum loci absque
in

in quo ipsis etiam elementis fit injuria. Cunctis quoque legibus, quæ contra eos, ceterosque, qui contra fidei refragantur, olim diversisque temporibus latae sunt, semper viridi observantia valutaris. Sive de donationibus in hæreticorum conventicula (quæ ipsi audacter Ecclesias nuncupare conantur) factis, sive ex ultimâ voluntate rebus qualitercunque relictis, sive de privatis adificiis in quæ domino permittente, vel connivente, convenierint veneranda nobis Catholica Ecclesie vindicandis, sive de procuratore qui hoc nesciente domino fecerit, Decem librarum auri multa, vel exilium si sit ingenuus subito, Metallum vero post verbera si servilis conditionis sit; ita ut nec in publicum convenire locum, nec adificari sibi quasi Ecclesias, nec ad circumscriptionem legum quicquam meditari valeant, omni civili & militari, curiarum etiam & defensorum & judicum sub viginti librarum Auri interminatione prohibendi auxilio. Illis etiam omnibus in sua manentibus firmitate, quæ de militiâ, pœnisque, variis deque, diversis hæreticis sunt promulgata, ut nec speciale quidem beneficium adversus leges valeat impetratum. Felice & Tauro Coss.

Apollinarista, vel Eutylianista, non Ecclesias sibi construant, parasynaxes & conventicula tam diurna, quam nocturna, non contrahant. Nec eis publice, vel privatim convocandi catus, vel circulos contrahendi & de errore hæretico disputandi, tribuatur facultas. Nulli etiam contra venerabilem Chalcedonensem Synodum liceat aliquid vel dictare, vel scribere, vel edere, vel amittere,

mittere, aut aliorum dicta vel scripta super eadem re proferre. Nemo huiusmodi habere libros & sacrilega Scriptorum monumenta audeat servare: quodsi qui in his criminibus fuerint deprehensi, perpetua deportatione damnentur.

Constantio & Rufo Coss.

De Baptismate.

Antistitem, qui Sanctitatem baptismatis illicita usurpatione geminauerit, sacerdotio indignum esse censemus, &c. Gratiano & Merobande Coss.

Si quis rebaptizare quempiam de Ministris Catholicae Sectae fuerit detectus, una cum eo qui piaculari crimen commisit, (si tamen criminis per atatem capax sit) & hic cui persuasum sit, ultimo iudicio percellatur.

Lucio & Hadriano Coss.

Hi qui sanctam fidem prodiderunt, & Sanctum baptismum haereticâ superstitione profanarunt, à consortio omnium segregati sint, & à testimoniis alieni ---- Lapsi etenim, & errantibus subvenitur, perditis vero, hoc est sanctum baptismum profanantibus, nullo remedio poenitentiae succurritur. Tatiano & Symmacho Coss.

Eum qui servum, sive ingenuum, invitum, seu suasionem plectendam, ex cultu Christianae Religionis, in nefandam Sectam, ritumve seduxerit, cum dispendio personarum, capite puniendum esse censemus. Theodosio & Valentiniano Coss.

St. Augst. contra Parmen. l. 3.

Si quid pro huiusmodi iniquitatibus patiuntur, si nolint corrigi, saltem non audeant gloriari.

E I N I S.